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Technical-Military Meeting of Guarantor Countries Starts

PY1502172095 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1618 GMT 15 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Brasilia, 15 Feb (EFE)—The technical-military meeting of the guarantor countries of the 1942 border treaty between Ecuador and Peru started today in Brasilia. The meeting was summoned to prepare for the visit of a mission of observers to the conflict area.

Military, civilian, and diplomatic experts are meeting at the Brazilian Armed Forces Joint Staff building, while the delegates and deputy foreign ministers who seek to formalize a cease-fire agreement and negotiate a demilitarization process are holding a separate meeting.

In a communique issued on 14 February, the guarantor countries express their willingness to continue to cooperate with the parties "so they may reach, with the urgency required, an agreement to consolidate a cease-fire."

The guarantor countries believe "a cease-fire and the signing of an agreement are essential prerequisites for sending a mission of observers, as requested by the two parties, and to ensure the necessary conditions for the development of their duties."

Brazilian Foreign Minister Luiz Felipe Lampreia has stated that following the achievement of the cease-fire under negotiation, the next step is the separation of forces and "the presence of military observers from the four countries that will ensure the enforcement of these two conditions."

He added: "We are striving to achieve a decisive stage that will lead to a lasting solution for all the pending demarcation problems between the two countries and all substantial pending problems."

Ecuador Charges Peru With 'Misinformation'

PY1502225295 Madrid EFE in Spanish 2130 GMT 15 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Brasilia, 15 Feb (EFE)—Today in Brasilia, Ecuador charged Peru with carrying out a misinformation campaign designed to try to "hold Ecuador responsible for alleged attacks and for violating the cease-fire."

The charges were made at a time when one of the eight missions sent abroad by Lima to explain the Peruvian position in the conflict is in the Brazilian capital.

The Peruvian mission, headed by Gonzalo Fernandez, president of the Peruvian International Law Association and former Peruvian ambassador to Brazil, arrived in Brasilia yesterday. This mission will also go to Sao Paulo and Asuncion (Paraguay).

The Peruvian representatives met with Brazilian Senate President Jose Sarney, Luis Eduardo Magalhaes, president of the Chamber of Deputies, and various sectors of the media.

Ecuador has confirmed that the Ecuadoran detachments and posts in Tiwinza and other conflict zones, which Peru claims to have recovered, continue under the control of the Ecuadoran Armed Forces.

Ecuadoran Deputy Foreign Minister Marcelo Fernandez stated that any journalist who wishes to do so can visit the zone and see who is lying and who is misinforming.

Peruvian Deputy Foreign Minister Eduardo Ponce last week also charged that the Ecuadoreans are carrying out a misinformation campaign that makes the Peruvians look like "the attackers, when in truth they were the ones who were attacked."

Guarantors Submit New Draft Proposal

PY1502230195 Madrid EFE in Spanish 2156 GMT 15 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Brasilia, 15 Feb (EFE)—The guarantor countries today submitted to Ecuador and Peru a draft proposal to consolidate the peace seeking process, which began on 14 February with the cease-fire, and must continue with the withdrawal of troops and the demilitarization of the border area in conflict.

At 2135 GMT the Argentine, Brazilian, Chilean, and U.S. negotiators ended a meeting with the deputy foreign ministers of the two countries in conflict during which they delivered the draft proposal, which needs to be assessed and answered in the upcoming hours by the Ecuadoran and Peruvian Governments.

At the end of the meeting Brazilian Deputy Foreign Minister Sebastiao do Rego Barros stated that "the countries (Ecuador and Peru) may give their answers today or tomorrow. If no agreement is reached, the mediation of the guarantors in Brasilia will have to move to another level, because the current mediators have to return to their respective countries within a short period of time."

Ecuador Accepts Guarantors' Proposal

PY1602031695 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0214 GMT 16 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Brasilia, 15 Feb (EFE)—Ecuadoran Deputy Foreign Minister Marcelo Fernandez has announced that Ecuador has accepted the draft proposal submitted today in Brasilia to the Ecuadoran and Peruvian Governments by the countries mediating in the conflict between the two Andean nations, which sets the rules for a peace agreement.

Today the guarantors submitted a concrete proposal to the two countries, and expect their respective answers "today, or at the latest tomorrow," according to Brazilian Deputy Foreign Minister Sebastiao do Rego Barros.

The representatives of the guarantor countries of the border agreement signed by Peru and Ecuador in 1942 (Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and the United States) have announced that this new proposal ends a new round of negotiations, and that, whatever the answer of the two countries in conflict may be, the meeting in Brasilia has ended.

It is explained that this does not mean that negotiations are interrupted, but that they will continue indefinitely at other levels.

The draft proposal submitted to Ecuador and Peru seeks to consolidate the peace-seeking process following the non-declared war that began on 26 January.

The proposal seeks to start the separation of forces, after which a total of 40 experts in military affairs will be sent to the zone. These experts are ready to go to the area, according to do Rego Barros.

The Brazilian deputy foreign minister added: "We, the guarantor countries, have made a proposal to the two countries for the agreement that will allow us to send observers, after the great step of a cease-fire was taken."

Do Rego Barros warned that sending the mission, which is in Brasilia, is for the time being subject to the implementation of this peace-seeking proposal.

He said that official reports from the feuding governments indicate that military operations in the conflict zone have been suspended, and that they are both willing to observe the cease-fire.

Cuba

Efficiency Assemblies To Focus on Energy Consumption

FL1502145895 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 1255 GMT 15 Feb 95

[From the "Doing Radio" program]

[FBIS Translated Text] Reducing energy consumption at enterprises will be the main issue debated at the economic efficiency assemblies being held nationwide. Pedro Ross, secretary general of the Cuban Workers Federation, stated in Havana that it is necessary for the unions to demand from the administrations a reduction in energy consumption, a vital problem of the current national crisis. Last year, sugarcane and non-sugarcane agriculture and the nickel industry consumed 80 percent of all the fuel imported nationwide. The efficiency assemblies will also analyze the problem of labor force reorganization as well as help strengthen ties between workers and base-level union leaders in order to improve union work.

Sugar Industry Spokesman Announces Fertilizer Availability

FL1502211095 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 1800 GMT 15 Feb 95

[From the "National Radio News"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Alfonso Velasco, first vice minister of the Sugar Industry, announced in Bayamo that all the fertilizer needed for the current sugarcane planting campaign has been secured according to specifications.

Velasco stressed during a work visit to Granma Province that this is the result of a huge effort by the nation, thus demanding an appropriate response from the farmers of this sector. Velasco also stressed the vital importance of preserving the thrust of the surgarcane campaign without relinquishing sugarcane recovery efforts. In reference to the main efficiency indexes of the last 10 days, Velasco pointed out that Granma Province, the best during the previous 10-day period, experienced a certain drop. Velasco added that during the 1 to 10 February period, Cienfuegos and Guantanamo Provinces attained better sugar harvest indexes, while Havana and Sancti Spiritus attained the best indexes in terms of the use of the available facilities, and Sancti Spiritus and Guantanamo Provinces led in sugar production.

Panel Debates Folly of Announced Inspection Visits

FL1502185795

[FBIS Editorial Report] Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish at 1700 GMT on 14 February carries its regularly scheduled program "Straight Talk" with host Juan Carlos Roque Garcia and guest journalists Eloy Concepcion and Renato Recio, who discuss the value of announced inspection visits.

Roque introduces the subject by quoting a letter from listener Enrique Lara Fontaine: "...much has to be reconstructed, yet everything rotten must be discarded, everything damaging and blocking the path to a brighter future. We have to preserve the accomplishments of socialism by resolutely fighting lies, no matter how small, since lies hide the reality, and in many cases there are solutions to those evils portrayed as unsolvable. I am also of the opinion that announced inspection visits by officials do not yield results because huge theatrical shows are staged and the real problems affecting the work center or community are concealed. A case in point is the provincial hospital in Matanzas which was as dirty and depressing as a garbage dump, and where the sick had to take their own sheets. However, when a visit was announced, everything [supplies] reappeared as if by magic. This also happens with food services, cafeterias, factories, and everywhere else facing difficulties and where a false reality is presented. Right after the visit is over, reality, dismal and cruel, shows its face with poor behavior and deficient service. Some argue that there is the blockade and the special service, yet, despite everything the Revolution is still being deceived."

Recio agrees but adds that the special period's limitations should not be underestimated and thus conditions with supplies are different from years ago. He adds announced visits are part of "formalist attitude toward problems, the root of which is the bureaucratic spirit, a bureaucracy which believes the means and not the end is what is important."

Concepcion states that "the problem is not the visits, they can be announced, the problem is with double morals. This is a way of betraying the population of the region. This happens everywhere." He goes on to said the real problem is for the visitors to avoid being tricked." He adds workers being visited should have "enough morals strength and revolutionary firmness to not present a false reality."

Roque states that he believes announced visits should be eliminated all together, because work center reality is changed for the visit, and thus "you are betraying yourself."

The journalists agree that nothing is accomplished if the reality is hidden during a visit and that the responsibility lies on the work center manager and workers organizations involved.

Concepcion gives the example of a region where the bread was small and of poor quality all year long, except when there was a regional visit and suddenly it was twice as big and of good quality.

Recio states responsibility cannot fall solely on the work center inspected, but the visitor, or inspector, who regardless of being announced or not, should seek the truth, and that "a serious, personal, direct contact with the workers and the people is all that is needed to find out the truth, however, if one relies only on the report, or image presented by those interested in altering the reality, then, of course, you will be deceived." He adds: "I believe that many times the visitors, or inspectors put on an inspection play."

Recio stresses once more that the problem "is that some want to be deceived and others seek to deceive. A case of double morals."

The journalists concur on the importance of true contact with the people, and the folly of visitors, and worker centers play acting.

Roque begins the closing segment by bringing up the issue that workers' access to the visitors "is many times controlled." Concepcion states it is natural for unions and administrations to select the best workers but the problem lies in double morals, not the visit per se.

Concepcion concludes by stating: "This hypocrisy and formalism should never take place in the education sector because the children should never see as normal, examples of double morals, hypocrisy, and formalism."

Roque closes by reiterating listeners can write to the program at: Radio Rebelde, Apartado 6277, Codigo Postal 10600, Havana, Cuba.

Western Army Defense Preparation Year Begins With Ceremony

FL1602123795 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 0000 GMT 16 Feb 95

[From the "Exclusive" program]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Western Army's defense preparation year began with a ceremony held in a large tank unit where soldiers ratified the commitment to strive for the distinction of best Army of the Revolutionary Armed Forces [FAR] in 1995. The political-military ceremony was chaired by Politburo members Division General Leopoldo Cintra Frias, chief of the Western Army; and Candido Palmero, first secretary of the party in Havana province, along with other leaders and officers. This large tank unit aspires, in the year marking the 100th anniversary of Jose Marti's death, to become the best of its type in the armed forces and to achieve the distinction and glory of "Batalla de Yaguajay." At the tank unit facilities, visitors witnessed demonstrations of the main defense activities to be held in 1995, including target practice, anti-aircraft defense, communications, engineering, and personal defense.

At the conclusion, Brigadier General Raul Valle Valdez, chief of the Western Army's General Staff, stated that in 1995 the Western Army should receive good scores in the preparation of personnel, exercises and maneuvers. He also pointed out that in agricultural-livestock activity, efforts will be aimed at obtaining 100 percent self sufficiency in the main sectors as instructed by the minister of the FAR.

In 1994, this army exceeded its plan for the construction of people's defense tunnels by 142 percent. It supplied itself with rice; it increased the levels of meat, fish, and grain production; and contributed to the elimination of 3,000 leaks in the capital.

Roundup of Politburo Members' Activities

FL1502155395

[FBIS Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on the activities of members of the Politburo of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee monitored through 15 February 95.

Sugar Industry Minister Nelson Torres called for greater use of animal power in planting, cultivation, and other efforts in the sugarcane industry. (Havana Radio Progreso Network in Spanish 1200 GMT 13 Feb 95)

Politburo member Jose Ramon Machado Ventura after completing a tour of Cienfuegos, said that there are problems, but there are concrete, positive solutions. (Havana Radio Progreso Network in Spanish 1200 GMT 13 Feb 95)

Politburo member Candido Palmero had highlighted the efforts which took place in the agriculture and defense sectors in Havana Province, during a visit of a delegation of central and western army officers. (Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 1800 GMT 13 February 95)

Pedro Ross Leal has participated in a meeting of the enterprises who export tobacco, which took place at the La Corona Cigar Factory in Havana City. Ross highlighted the importance of the tobacco worker's participation in Cuban defense efforts. (Havana Radio Reloj Network in Spanish 2058 GMT 13 Feb 95)

Nelson Torres has participated in a 10-day sugarcane harvest assessment meeting in Pinar del Rio. Torres stressed the need for the people of the province to change the difficult situation through which the province's agricultural industry is going. (Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 0000 GMT 14 Feb 95)

Abel Prieto has participated in a provincial meeting of the National Union of Cuban Writers and Artists [UNEAC] in Guantanamo. Prieto stressed the need for dialogue and to bear in mind the artist's individuality. Prieto stated that the UNEAC has never considered itself as an organization for the elite or minorities. Prieto highlighted the need to preserve cultural values. (Havana Tele Rebelde and Cuba Vision Networks in Spanish 0100 GMT 14 Feb 95)

Nelson Torres, sugar minister and member of the Politburo, has asked for assistance from sugarcane workers in Pinar del Rio to overcome difficulties to achieve a superior sugarcane harvest. (Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 1000 GMT 14 February 95)

General Leopoldo Cintra Frias has participated in an award ceremony honoring outstanding officers and soldiers due to their defense and production efforts at a Revolutionary Armed Forces' tank unit in Havana City. (Havana Cuba Vision Network in Spanish 0100 GMT 15 Feb 95)

Pedro Ross Leal, secretary general of the Cuban Workers Federation and member of the Politburo, have attended the inauguration of the first Marti's department in Cuban Workers Federation headquarters in Havana. (Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 1000 GMT 15 February 95)

Nelson Torres, member of the Politburo and sugar minister, is visiting Matanzas Province, to conduct the sugarcane harvest inspection corresponding to the second 10 days of February. (Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 1000 GMT 15 February 95)

Accord Signed With Russia on Electronic Center

PA1602053595 Havana PRENSA LATINA in Spanish 1411 GMT 15 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 15 Feb (PL)—Russia and Cuba signed a technical-military cooperation agreement upon the conclusion of their mixed commission's third meeting. The commission was created to guarantee operations at the radio-electronic center in Lourdes, located in the outskirts of the island's capital.

The Cuban delegation is led by Division General Julio Casas Regueiro, vice minister of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Cuba (FAR).

Casas Regueiro met here with General Mikhail Kolesnikov, Russian Army chief of staff, with whom he held constructive and significant consultations, according to a press note from the Cuban Embassy.

The communique added that the Cuban vice minister was received by Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev.

Ukranian Envy Extols Bilateral Ties Prospects

FL1502170395 Havana Radio Reloj Network in Spanish 1506 GMT 15 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Ukrainian ambassador Alexander Taranenko extolled on 14 February the prospects for further development of the ties between Cuba and Ukraine. During a news conference at the Foreign Ministry, Taranenko described as friendly the ties maintained by both nations for over 35 years and stressed that 30 percent of all the trade the former USSR conducted with Cuba was Ukrainian. Taranenko added that with the help of Ukrainian specialists, Cuban enterprises are making several products in great demand not only in Cuba but also in all of Latin America. Taranenko pointed out that the Cuban economy is beginning to show positive signs and quoted significant accomplishments in medical, pharmaceutical, and biotechnology productions.

Haiti

Tripartite Meeting 15 Feb for Command Transfer to UN

FL1602003695 Port-au-Prince Signal FM Radio in French 1130 GMT 15 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A tripartite conference will take place on 15 February at the National Palace regarding the deployment of the UN Mission in Haiti [MINUHA]. The meeting will include the Haitian Government, the United Nations, and the United States, say diplomatic sources. This meeting falls relates to the transfer of command from the United States to MINUHA, from which important military have already been deployed to Haiti. According to our source, MINUHA leader Lakhdar Brahimi of Algeria, General (Joe Kinza), and Ambassador [William] Lacy Swing will participate in this meeting. Before 31 March, MINUHA must replace the U.S.-led multinational force, which has been in Haiti since 19 September 1994.

International Monitor Shot: Schrager Confirms Limbe Death

FL1602002995 Port-au-Prince Signal FM Radio in French 1130 GMT 15 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] An Argentine international police monitor was injured in Petionville, a suburb of the capital, by strangers, according to testimony from people living in the area. The identity of the victim, who was shot in the shoulder at about 2100 local time. The shot was fired from a car, which has not been found despite a patrol dispatched directly following the incident. The neighborhood where the attack took place at the entrance to Petionville was surrounded for about half an hour by soldiers of the U.S.-led multinational force. This is the first time an international police monitor has been injured in Haiti since the intervention of the multinational force on 19 September 1994.

In October 1994, a U.S. soldier was wounded in the stomach in Les Cayes, 200 km southwest of the capital by armed men. A sergeant of the U.S. special forces was killed in Gonaives in January, you recall, by a former Haitian Army major, who was then killed by another U.S. soldier during the same incident. On 11 February, strangers attacked the barracks of the small town of Limbe, killing one Haitian police lieutenant of the interim force and seriously wounding another. Two others are still reported missing. The spokesman for the U.S. Embassy in Port-au-Prince, Stanley Schrager, confirmed the death of this lieutenant. [passage omitted]

Coup Victims To Receive Percentage of Privatization

FL1602012795 Port-au-Prince Signal FM Radio in French 1130 GMT 15 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The victims or parents of victims of the former Haitian dictatorship will receive 10 percent of the capital of the companies earmarked for privatization by the government of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, according to a 14 February announcement by the International Finance Society [Societe Financiere Internationale, SFI], which is counseling the Haitian Government on this matter. SFI is working on the privatization of nine of the total 33 public enterprises selected by the Haitian Government, including the People's Haitian Bank, the National Credit Bank, Electricity of Haiti, Teleco, the national port authority, the national airport authority, Cement of Haiti, the Haitian flour mill, and the national oil-producing enterprises. In two to three months, SFI will present recommendations to the government on the state of the enterprises, but only two or three of them will actually be privatized this year. It is a matter of making a success of this operation to convince the public of the need for the privatization policy and to alert the international economic community that Haiti is ready to again receive investors, Mr. Lietard, the person in charge of operations for Haiti, explained.

Numerous foreigners—American, French, Swiss, and Canadian—are said to be interested in the Haitian enterprises, according to SFI, which will be paid $2 million by USAID for its services.

It should also be noted that SFI is the branch of the World Bank in charge of promoting private investment in developing countries. SFI provided privatization advice to Russia, Poland, and Peru. According to the plan worked out by the Haitian Government and SFI, the bulk of the privatizations—50 to 60 percent—will go to foreign investors as early as the summer of 1994, with the Haitian Government keeping the remaining capital. The privileged strata of the population will no longer have the right to access this resource for increasing their fortunes, Philippe Lietard explained. [passage omitted]

Caricom Meeting Creates Proposals To Assist Haiti

FL1502195295 Bridgetown CANA in English 1748 GMT 15 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Port-au-Prince, Haiti, Feb. 15, CANA—Caribbean Community (Caricom) foreign ministers have come up with some substantive proposals to aid in the rehabilitation, reconstruction and development of the Haitian economy through joint cooperation. A release issued after the meeting in the Haitian capital February 11-13, said the government ministers and senior Caricom officials identified areas in which the regional grouping could assist Haiti.

Caribbean countries will provide assistance in the implementation of programmes to alleviate the problem of illiteracy. They will augment the presence of Caricom forces in Haiti to provide security to participate in disarming of paramilitary forces.

Help will also be given to Haiti in the political sphere. Caricom is to offer "assistance to the Electoral Council in the forthcoming Haitian municipal and legislative elections, similar to that provided in the preparation for the 1990 elections."

Additionally, the Caricom ministers agreed to consider the provision of observers throughout the electoral process.

And as a mark of acknowledging the reintegration of Haiti into the inter-American system, the regional trade and integration grouping has agreed to advance Haiti assistance in the preparation and organisation of the 25th General Assembly of the Organisation of American States in June this year.

Haiti will also be accorded full membership of the Caribbean Agricultural Research and Development Institute; as well, Caricom will intercede on Haiti's behalf with the international financial institutions to "press for an accelerated release of funds already programmed for Haiti."

"They agreed that the Joint Technical Group established between Caricom and Haiti and the Joint Commissions will be responsible for the furthering of areas of cooperation which have been identified," the release stated.

Important among these is the area of bilateral cooperation in tourism between Haiti and Jamaica and Haiti and the Bahamas.

Haiti has also been urged to consider the early ratification of the Convention establishing the Association of Caribbean States signed in Colombia last July.

The issue of Haiti/Caricom cooperation will be considered at the Sixth Inter-sessional Meeting of the Conference of Caricom heads of government on February 16-17.

Another suggestion was made that there should be consolidation of media links between press outlets within Caricom and Haiti to improve the diffusion of information between the peoples of the region and Haiti.

There have also been recommendations for formal contacts between regional and Haitian representatives in transportation, private sector, tertiary education and the public service.

Furthermore, there has been support from Caricom "for a global regional strategy to effect the planned return to Haiti of its nationals dispersed throughout the region".

Cooperation Communique Issued

FL1502234195 Bridgetown CANA in English 1940 GMT 15 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Port-au-Prince, Haiti, Feb 15, CANA—Following is the text of the Joint Caricom/Haiti communique on development cooperation issued February 14, 1995: "Ministers of government and senior officials of the Caribbean Community (Caricom) and the Republic of Haiti met in Port-au-Prince Haiti on February 11 and 13, 1995 to discuss areas in which the Caricom member states and Haiti could deepen the relations existing between their countries and ways in which Caricom could cooperate in furthering Haiti's rehabilitation, reconstruction, and development.

Caricom Ministers attending were Hon. Ralph Maraj, minister of Foreign Affairs of Trinidad and Tobago; Hon. Billie Miller, deputy prime minister and minister of Foreign Affairs of Barbados; Hon. Janet Bostwick, minister of Foreign Affairs of the Bahamas; Hon. Benjamin Clare, minister of state in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Jamaica; Mr. Johannes Leonce, permanent secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Saint Lucia, represented the foreign minister of Saint Lucia. Also attending were Edwin Carrington, secretary-general of the Caribbean Community, and His Excellency Matthew Beaubrun, ambassador of Jamaica to Haiti. Haiti's delegation was led by Foreign Affairs Minister Mme. Claudette Werleigh, and assisted by Ambassador Raymond Valcin (accredited to Jamaica, and ambassador-designate to Trinidad and Tobago, Saint Lucia, Barbados, and Guyana), members of her cabinet, representatives from the Ministries of Agriculture, Public Works and Communicationsl; Industry and Commerce; Planning and External Cooperation; Education; and the secretariats for tourism and literacy.

The Ministers were cordially received by the president of Haiti, His Excellency Jean-Bertrand Aristide, at the National Palace on the morning of 13 February, 1995. In discussing the wide range of issues in which there was scope for cooperation, the ministers recalled the assistance which the Caribbean Community had rendered to the restoration of constitutional rule in Haiti, including the return of President Aristide. In this regard, the Caricom ministers paid particular homage to the people of Haiti who had shown tremendous fortitude, courage, and resilience in their struggle to restore democracy in their country. The delegation of Haiti in turn paid tribute to the Caricom forces participating in the multinational force who had shown tremendous dedication in their efforts to maintain security in the country.

In discussing areas in which cooperation already existed, the Ministers first took note of the work already being done at the Cariforum programming unit. They particularly identified projects already approved or currently under consideration for the benefit of Haiti in the areas of, inter alia, tourism, agriculture, education, trade, and cultural cooperation. The ministers further identified a number of other areas in which Caricom countries could, from their own technical and human resources, assist Haiti. These included:

- assistance in the implementation of programmes to alleviate the problem of illiteracy in Haiti.
- assistance in maintaining, and in concert with the appropriate United Nations authorities, furthering discussions toward augmenting the presence of Caricom forces in Haiti with the aim of providing security, and to participate in the disarmament of paramilitary forces threatening stability in the country.
- assistance to the Electoral Council in the forthcoming Haitian municipal and legislative elections similar to that provided in the preparations for the 1990 elections. The Caricom ministers agreed to consider the provision of observers throughout the electoral process.
- assistance in the preparation for, and organisation of, the 25th General Assembly of the OAS which is scheduled to be held in Haiti in June 1995. They acknowledged this event as a symbolic demonstration of the reintegration of Haiti into the inter-American system.

The ministers took particular note of the report that the standing committee of ministers responsible for agriculture of the Caribbean Community had offered to extend full membership to the Caribbean Agricultural Research and Development Institute (CARDI), the Community's premier agricultural research institution, to Haiti. The Ministers agreed to take steps with international financial institutions to press for an accelerated release of funds already programmed for Haiti. They agreed that the joint technical group established between Caricom and Haiti, and the joint commissions will be responsible for the furthering of areas of cooperation which have been identified. Important among these is the area of bilateral cooperation in tourism between Haiti and Jamaica and Haiti and the Bahamas. The Caricom ministers urged the Government of Haiti to consider the early ratification of the convention establishing the Association of Caribbean States signed in Cartegena, Colombia in July 1994, as the association represented a nascent dynamic group in the hemisphere. The Caricom ministers and the Government of Haiti agreed that the joint technical group established between the Caribbean Community and Haiti in 1984, be elevated to the status of a joint commission, as a means of furthering Caricom/Haiti cooperation in this new era of their collaboration. The Caricom ministers undertook to have this issue placed before the Sixth Inter-Sessional Meeting of the Conference of Caricom Heads of Government on February 16-17, 1995 in Belize. This joint commission would examine during future meetings the modalities in which the following areas could be addressed:

- the consolidation of media links between press outlets within Caricom and the Republic of Haiti to improve the diffusion of information between the peoples of Haiti and the region;
- the facilitation of meetings between representatives of the Government of Haiti and the region's air and sea carriers toward establishing additional transportation links between Haiti and other destinations;

- the facilitation of meetings between representatives of Haiti's private sector and their counterparts in the Caricom region;
- the establishment and consolidation of relations between tertiary institutions in Haiti and those throughout the Caricom region;
- the ways in which Caricom could assist the Government of Haiti in strengthening its civil service;
- the support by Caricom for global, regional strategy to effect the planned return to Haiti of its nationals dispersed throughout the region.

Caricom ministers, accompanied by the representative of Saint Lucia and the secretary general, visited the Caricom forces in Cap-Haitien, where they received a report from the officers of the fort, addressed the troops, and presented the commanding officer with the Caricom flag. The Caricom Ministers extended their deep appreciation to the Government and people of the Republic of Haiti for the hospitality extended to them during their visit to Haiti."

Aristide Confirms Publication of Electoral Law

FL1602011695 Port-au-Prince Signal FM Radio in French 1130 GMT 15 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] On 14 February, during the ceremony for presentation of credentials by Ambassador Ronald Delange [of Belgium] at the National Palace, President Aristide confirmed that the electoral law will be published in less than 24 hours. The president told Signal FM that the electoral law will go into effect in about 48 hours [as heard]. President Aristide had held numerous consultations with members of the Provisional Electoral Council [CEP] about the amendments to the electoral law proposed by the parliamentarians, according to reliable sources. The presidential cabinet especially looked into the articles excluding priests and pastors from the electoral race. The election timetable will be published as soon as the electoral law is made public, stated the CEP during its first meeting with the press on 18 January.

Chiapas Governor Interviewed on Leave of Absence

PA1502133995 Mexico City Canal 13 Television Azteca Network in Spanish 0330 GMT 15 Feb 95

[Interview with Chiapas Governor Eduardo Robledo Rincon by Javier Alatorre in the station's studios in Mexico City; from the "Facts" newscast—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Alatorre] With us this evening is Eduardo Robledo Rincon, constitutional governor of Chiapas, who is now on leave of absence. Thank you for accepting our invitation. I would like to say that we were quite insistent in obtaining this interview. We thank you for coming to Mexico City solely for this interview.

[Robledo] Thank you, Javier, for this opportunity. I have come for this interview, and I should be returning home tomorrow.

[Alatorre] Who decided on Eduardo Robledo Rincon's leave? Where was it decided? In Mexico City or Chiapas? I ask because it seems to us there was some sort of pact among all parties involved in the Chiapas conflict regarding your leave request.

[Robledo] Javier, you have asked several questions. First, this is a strictly personal decision. It was discussed and analyzed in the plural government that I have headed. It was a decision we finished discussing early this morning and that we decided to carry out....

[Alatorre, interrupting] Who discussed it early this morning?

[Robledo] The members of the plural government of Chiapas. Those of us who form this government, who have made a commitment to Chiapas society, and who represent the various sectors of society in that government. We decided it was necessary that I make this decision at this time to contribute to the reconciliation and peace process in Chiapas and so no excuse or reason would be used to prevent a political solution in Chiapas. That was the decision made in Tuxtla Gutierrez by Eduardo Robledo and discussed with the members of this plural government. We believe this is the way to do our part to achieve peace in Chiapas.

[Alatorre] Who is responsible for the other part?

[Robledo] The other protagonists; the other protagonists who have participated in this process. We have issued a call for everyone to contribute. Now is the time for everyone to do his best for our state. It is the time for those who have played different roles in this process to place the interests of our state first if we are truly interested in Chiapas, if we are truly interested in our state's future.

[Alatorre] Let us talk a little about Samuel Ruiz, because later in the newscast we are going to hear that Ruiz wants to continue heading the Conai [National Mediation Commission]. In this assuming of responsibilities by the protagonists in the Chiapas conflict, what is your opinion of Samuel Ruiz?

[Robledo] I have issued a call. This call is not a personal or individual idea. It is the expression of more than 500,000 Chiapas residents who expressed their confidence in me and who told me on 21 August that we had to work for peace in Chiapas. I believe that to achieve peace, we must all do our share and prevent the existence of elements that would hinder the conditions for peace and dialogue in Chiapas. I am convinced that this is the time and the opportunity. It is the hour of truth in Chiapas. It is the hour of truth in which we must all assume this responsibility. The call I have made, on behalf of the majority of the people of Chiapas, for Bishop Samuel Ruiz to withdraw is so that he will do his share, along with the other protagonists, along with Amado Avendano, along with the members of the EZLN by laying down weapons and accepting the amnesty law that will be presented to the Congress of the union. In this way, the people of Chiapas can reestablish the coexistence that we require to achieve justice.

[Alatorre] Why should Samuel Ruiz withdraw? What was his responsibility in this conflict?

[Robledo] Because, unquestionably, he played an active role. He was an actor in this entire process, along with other members of our society. It is obvious that this is the case and that now is the time for each of us to assume our responsibilities.

[Alatorre] What is your prediction for the EZLN's attitude following your request for leave?

[Robledo] I hope there will no excuse now. I hope they will not invent reasons to postpone a political solution, to postpone dialogue.

[Alatorre] I believe I must also make a very quick explanation. We are discussing the leave taken by the constitutional governor of Chiapas, not his resignation. There is quite a difference there.

[Robledo] I have requested leave in accordance with our local constitution. In an internal debate process, Congress appointed a successor. We are abiding by the law.

[Alatorre] To request leave implies that you can return.

[Robledo] Well, formally I can.

[Alatorre] Does Eduardo Rincon want to return to the government?

[Robledo] I want peace in Chiapas; I want justice in Chiapas; I hope for democracy in my state. My duty is to contribute to that.

[Alatorre] Was it an unfair decision?

[Robledo] It was a personal decision, a decision that could be interpreted in many ways. I do not believe it is unfair because it entails no sacrifice. It entails a resolve to contribute.

[Alatorre] Is Eduardo Robledo a member of the PRI [Institutional Revolutionary Party]?

[Robledo] Eduardo Robledo has been a member of the PRI all of his life.

[Alatorre] Does he have his party's support?

[Robledo] I have my party's support. I would like to take advantage of this opportunity to explain something. I requested leave from active membership—not from my convictions or principles—in order to have the neutrality and the ability to coordinate the work of a plural government. That is why I requested leave from active membership in the party, and also because I wanted to respect my party's internal decisions.

[Alatorre] What will you do today, tonight? We know you are returning to Chiapas. What will Eduardo Robledo do from now on?

[Robledo] First, I will continue to love my state. I will continue to serve my state with humility wherever I can, and I will continue working in politics.

[Alatorre] Will you be politically active in your state, or will you work for peace in your state?

[Robledo] I do not believe politics are necessarily parlayed into administrative positions or such expressions. Politics have many manifestations and opportunities. It is my job, and I will continue doing it wherever I can.

[Alatorre] Eduardo Robledo Rincon, constitutional governor of Chiapas State, who is now on leave, thanks for being with us.

[Robledo] Thank you, Javier.

Chiapas Officials, Others React to Leave of Absence

PA1502160395 Mexico City Radio ACIR Network in Spanish 0000 GMT 15 Feb 95

[From the "Evening News Panorama" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] There has been a lot of reaction from several quarters, especially political quarters, to Chiapas Governor Eduardo Robledo Rincon's request for a leave of absence.

Chiapas Government Secretary General Heraclio Zepeda has asserted that the state is not ungovernable, since Congress in fact accepted Constitutional State Governor Eduardo Robledo Rincon's request for a leave of absence this morning. He added that Congress had already appointed Julio Cesar Ruiz Ferro as acting governor. The leave of absence, said Heraclio Zepeda, will not create political instability. The official, who is a member of the PRD [Party of the Democratic Revolution], also said the decision made by the governor, now on leave, demonstrated Robledo's political will to contribute to the peace process in the state.

Chiapas Indian Affairs Secretary Jacinto Arias said the Chiapas Indians support Robledo Rincon's decision because the Zapatist National Liberation Army [EZLN] had changed the direction of the objectives of its struggle. He explained that the EZLN had put aside its initial social proposals in favor of the Indians and had presented political demands that had influenced the opinion of Indian groups in that state.

PRD Deputy Horacio Culebro Borayas described Robledo Rincon's request for a leave of absence as favorable. He said it will help pave the road to the much-desired political negotiations needed to solve the Chiapas conflict. Interviewed before the Congress' session, the PRD deputy said that his party, the party of the Aztec sun, will now demand that they work for negotiations that will lead to reconciliation. Deputy Culebro Borayas asserted that his party, the PRD, will request new elections and that the leave of absence granted to the PRI official be definite, not an 11-month leave.

Meanwhile, here in Mexico City, deputies, senators and leaders of the National Action Party, Institutional Revolutionary Party, PRD, Labor Party, Green Ecologist Party, and the Cardenist Front have said that the leave of absence requested by Eduardo Robledo is a positive development because, as the legislators all agreed, it will pave the road to finally resolving the conflict in that state.

Legislators and party leaders also said that President Zedillo's announcement that he was forwarding an amnesty bill to the Congress of the Union was very positive and opportune. The president will also request a special legislative session.

Fernando Ortiz Arana, president of the Great Commission of the Senate of the republic, said Eduardo Robledo Rincon's decision was strictly personal, in the exercise of his political freedom, and that the rest of the PRI supported his decision.

Government Secretary Justifies Legal Actions Against EZLN

PA1602053995 Mexico City XEW Television Network in Spanish 0430 GMT 16 Feb 95

[From the "24 Hours" newscast; passages within quotation marks recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Two hours ago, the government secretary issued a statement on the situation in Chiapas. Speaking to Mexican and foreign reporters in his offices on Bucareli Street in Mexico City, Government Secretary Esteban Moctezuma read a statement in which he clarified to the Mexican people that the government had to begin legal actions against members of the EZLN [Zapatist National Liberation Army] when it was detected they were preparing subversive actions in other parts of the republic.

[Moctezuma] "The government's evident willingness to hold a dialogue had to be accompanied with the strict enforcement of the law when the security forces found that EZLN members were preparing subversive actions in different parts of the country. The framework of respect for legality is not optional. The debate is not over the number of weapons found in the EZLN's safehouses but over whether society deserves to live under the threat of armed subversion just around the corner. The government cannot permit it."

He insisted that despite the different opinions that have emerged in the past five days regarding Chiapas, the government of the republic ratifies its willingness to hold a dialogue and negotiations, giving precedence to political negotiation.

[Moctezuma] "The federal government recognizes that the Mexicans' opinion is united around two central points: First, the resolution of the conflict. Second, the nation does not want violence."

He endorsed President Zedillo's decision stating that to avoid armed actions and confrontations, the PGR [Attorney General's Office] and the Army have been ordered not to undertake any offensive action and to only patrol the zone and prevent acts of violence. He explained that the president of the republic has proposed to congress that it analyze and discuss the Chiapas situation and an amnesty law. Nevertheless, he clarified:

[Moctezuma] "The government does not suspend the legal action. The arrest warrants issued against those who lead violent actions are valid."

He expressed recognition of the Mexican Army for undertaking with discipline, loyalty, and professionalism their work in Chiapas. Order and legality was reestablished in the territory occupied by the EZLN, Secretary Moctezuma stressed.

[Moctezuma] "Today, there is no Mexican territory supposedly controlled by a force different from those legitimately recognized in the nation."

He said that tens of thousands of Indians will be able to return to their places of origin. The government secretary stressed:

[Moctezuma] "If the government of the republic reestablished with firmness the state of law in what were called buffer zones, with the same firmness it reiterates that the paths of negotiation and dialogue were, are, and will be open."

On several occasions, he said that all of the government's decisions have been oriented to achieving the negotiated, just, and lasting peace that the Mexicans desire. He recognized that immediate actions must be undertaken to satisfy the demands dealing with poverty, lack of opportunities, and injustice in Chiapas.

Explains Government's Actions in Chiapas

PA1602151495 Mexico City Canal 13 Television Azteca Network in Spanish 1300 GMT 16 Feb 95

[From the "Early Morning" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] Government Secretary Esteban Moctezuma Barragan read a communique which stated that legal action against the leaders of the Zapatist National Liberation Army [EZLN], for whom arrest warrants have been issued for various crimes, will not be suspended because of the amnesty law.

[Begin Moctezuma recording] The Federal Government's conduct in Chiapas State is determined by its legal and national responsibilities, circumstantial exigencies, or partial interests. As a result of various investigations, arrest warrants were issued against several members of the EZLN. The decision was also made to restore the state of law in the conflict area with the presence of government authorities. Mexican society must be aware that five days after the operations began, law and order have been restored in the region, in the territories occupied by the EZLN, also called areas of conflict, located in the Ocosingo, Las Margaritas, and Altamirano Municipalities. The operation was exemplary in its peaceful nature.

Today there is no illegitimate force controlling any part of Mexican territory. In Chiapas, all federal government decisions have been aimed at achieving a negotiated, just, and lasting peace, which Mexicans desire.

Just as the government of the republic firmly restored the state of law in the areas called buffer zones, with the same firmness it reiterates that the road to negotiation and dialogue have been, are, and will remain open.

The government will not suspend legal action. The arrest warrants issued against those who lead violent actions are still in effect. They will be resolved according to the law while bearing in mind that those affected will have the opportunity to avail themselves of the amnesty law once it is enacted and the established conditions are met.

To preclude actions that could lead to confrontations, the president of the republic has instructed the Attorney General's Office and the Mexican Army not to take any offensive actions and to remain in the area to patrol the region and prevent violence.

The duties required to satisfy the people's legitimate demands to fight poverty, the lack of opportunities, and injustice in Chiapas State should be carried out without delay. To achieve this, the joint effort of the federal and state governments as well as that of Chiapas society are necessary without exception. [end recording]

Secretariat Issues Bulletin on Progress in Chiapas

PA1502135695 Mexico City XEW Television Network in Spanish 0430 GMT 15 Feb 95

[Bulletin issued by the Government Secretariat in Mexico City on 14 February; from the "24 Hours" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] Significant progress has been made in Chiapas in the search for a real solution for balanced development. The actions initiated on 9 February by the Attorney General's Office [PGR] and the Mexican Army allowed the state of law to be reestablished in an area in which legality had been absent for 14 months.

Today, after reestablishing the law, there is a favorable climate for performing the urgent tasks required of the state and federal governments to meet the demands of Chiapas residents. This morning, the president of the republic ratified his conviction that the definitive solution to the conflict in Chiapas must include respect for the law through political avenues and conciliation.

In addition, he noted the government's mission is to fulfill and enforce the law, without forgetting its duty to promote a political solution. With this in mind, he ordered the PGR and Mexican Army to stop offensive actions. He will ask the Permanent Congressional Committee to convene an extraordinary session to examine an amnesty draft bill for EZLN [Zapatist National Liberation Army] members who choose the political solution and lay down their weapons.

Additionally, the federal executive asked for the intervention of Congress' Dialogue and Conciliation Committee and the National Human Rights Commission to verify that legal authorities and the Mexican Army have fully respected human rights and to corroborate the absence of clashes and confrontations.

The federal government is speaking the truth and is open to public scrutiny. Therefore, beginning today, the media will have free access to communities where the PGR and Mexican Army are taking joint actions.

In addition, in a respectable personal decision, Eduardo Robledo Rincon, constitutional governor of Chiapas, has requested a leave of absence. Robledo's decision demonstrates his commitment to peace, his rejection of violence, and his desire that harmony return to Chiapas. All the political players in Chiapas society must demonstrate the spirit of reconciliation shown by Eduardo Robledo Rincon.

The initiatives of the federal executive are intended to lay the foundations for guaranteeing security in land ownership while at the same time fighting simulated large landownership. They are intended to support democratic values, to prevent minority groups from imposing their decisions on the rest of society, to allow disputes to be settled in a civilized manner, and to prevent the emergence of armed groups, regardless of the interests they may represent.

On several occasions, the government of the republic has affirmed that the solution to problems in Chiapas requires an integral change dealing with agrarian problems, administration of justice, electoral legislation, the Indian question, health and housing conditions, respect for human rights, education, religious tolerance, democracy, and respect for Indian cultures. These problems are the cause of the conflict and cannot be dodged or their solution delayed.

All political, economic, and social players in Chiapas must contribute to consolidating the pacification effort and the change this state needs for balanced development.

Attorney General on Status of EZLN Warrants

PA1502154395 Mexico City Radio ACIR Network in Spanish 1300 GMT 15 Feb 95

[Telephone interview with Attorney General Fernando Antonio Lozano Gracia by unidentified announcer; Lozano Gracia's location not given; from the "Panorama" newscast—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer] We have Fernando Antonio Lozano Gracia, attorney general of the republic, on the line. Good morning, Mr. Attorney General.

[Lozano] Good morning.

[Announcer] It is my pleasure to greet you. The Attorney General's Office [PGR] has issued a news bulletin that says, in its second paragraph, that the PGR will suspend all activities surrounding the search for the EZLN [Zapatist National Liberation Army], who have been charged as criminals. How should we interpret this paragraph?

[Lozano] At 0900 yesterday the president of the republic instructed the Army and PGR not to take any action that might result in confrontation, in furtherance of finding a peaceful solution in Chiapas. Today he will summon the Congress' Permanent Commission to convene a special period of sessions to discuss a draft amnesty bill. Therefore, in adherence to that instruction, as mandated by the president, we will not take any actions of that kind.

[Announcer] In other words, right now you are not searching for Marcos with the support of the Mexican Army?

[Lozano] That's correct. Actions of this nature were suspended yesterday when the president gave the order. Allow me to emphasize—I think this is important—that no action that might result in a clash is being conducted.

[Announcer] Based on the second paragraph, which is kind of confusing, my next question is: Will the draft amnesty bill, if approved, include Rafael Santiago Guillen Vicente, alias Marcos, and other important leaders of the EZLN?

[Lozano] That's very likely, but we must take into account one circumstance. It will be Congress that passes the amnesty law. We will have to see what the terms and conditions of the law are in order to determine who may benefit from it. If you recall, in January 1994 an amnesty law was passed on this conflict. That amnesty law, passed by the Mexican Congress, established that members of the EZLN who laid down their weapons could avail themselves of this law. Unfortunately this did not happen. I insist that we have to wait and see what the terms and conditions of this amnesty law will be.

[Announcer] What will happen to members of the EZLN who are already under arrest? Will they also be able to avail themselves of the amnesty law?

[Lozano] That's a possibility. I insist: This will depend on the terms of the law as promulgated by Congress. It may also benefit these people.

[Announcer] Can this be interpreted as the last chance offered by the Mexican state to those outside the law?

[Lozano] I think this is an important moment. Despite everything that has been said about the dynamics of war, I think this confirms the intent and desire to resolve a problem peacefully. The differences, viewpoints, justified demands, or longing for a solution to an enduring problem should be resolved through political channels. I think it is meant for all Mexicans, particularly our Chiapas brothers, who are suffering from a very serious situation, not only in the conflict-ridden area but throughout the state. In light of this confused situation, gangs of criminals now abound and take advantage of our Chiapas brothers. I think this is an invaluable opportunity to restore the path of peace.

[Announcer] Mr. Attorney General Lozano Gracia, when no information is available, rumors abound. According to one of these rumors, an arrest warrant has been issued for Samuel Ruiz, bishop of San Cristobal de las Casas. What's going on with Samuel Ruiz and with Amado Avendano Figueroa?

[Lozano] I think your question is very important. I want to reiterate the PGR's position: The PGR has made public the arrest warrants that were issued. No more arrest warrants have been issued as of now. In other words, my answer is that the PGR has not issued a warrant for the arrest of Samuel Ruiz or Mr. Avendano. We have not made any such request, and no federal judge has issued an arrest warrant for these people.

[Announcer] Today's REFORMA publishes a note on its front page in which some Italians, including movie actor Bernardo Bertolucci, Gilo Pontecorvo, Gabriele Salvatore, (Tino Caguchi), writer Umberto Eco, author of "The Name of the Rose," ask the Mexican state to end the situation in Chiapas, where according to reports there have been human rights violations and the Attorney General's Office and the Mexican Army have carried out violent actions. What are your comments?

[Lozano] I believe these kind of remarks create confusion. For several hours or a couple of days there were reports of bombings, that grew out of a communique issued by the Zapatist National Liberation Army. Journalists who have flown over the area in helicopters confirm that those reports are false. I believe it is essential at this time to remain calm and act responsibly. I must stress again that this opening and chance for a peaceful solution is invaluable and confirms a willingness to seek a peaceful solution. We are facing crucial and difficult times during which we must act responsibly and carefully study any information we might have as there could be people interested in preventing a solution who could try to manipulate the media [words indistinct].

[Announcer] Regarding the case of Juan Pablo de Tavira, what is being investigated? Are the bodyguards involved? Was this an attack or an accident?

[Lozano] The investigation into this case is almost done. I ask for your understanding, as we are required by law to respect secrecy in these cases in order to guarantee the effectiveness of the investigations.

[Announcer] We understand your position. On the other hand, on the Ruiz Massieu case, yesterday in a public statement former Deputy Attorney General Mario Ruiz Massieu demanded that the investigation continue and asked the PGR to not abandon the investigation needed to clear up the crime. He said that top government officials from the former government, including Professor Carlos Kan Gonzalez and others, should be investigated. What are your comments on his statement?

[Lozano] I must say that unfortunately this was an irresponsible statement. He has met with Special Deputy Attorney General Pablo Chapas. Statements like this are not helpful. Investigations continue, as we have said on many occasions. We are working hard. We have been in touch with legislative commissions both in the Senate and Chamber of Deputies in charge of following up on Francisco Ruiz Massieu's murder. We also believe that we must act seriously, as lack of seriousness in our actions can often result in a lack of credibility. This is a very serious matter. I hope we will soon be able to publish the results of our efforts, with all the attendant evidence.

[Annoucer] Is Mario Ruiz Massieu violating the law when he makes these kind of statements?

[Lozano] He could be. Those affected could file charges against him.

[Announcer] Thank you for giving us the opportunity to interview you on these important matters.

PGR Affirms Instructions Not To Provoke Clashes in Chiapas

PA1502141095 Mexico City XEW Television Network in Spanish 0430 GMT 15 Feb 95

[Report by Jacobo Zabludovsky; from the "24 Hours" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] We inquired at the Attorney General's Office, PGR, whether the arrest warrant for Rafael Sebastian Guillen Vicente had been suspended. Here are the first two paragraphs of a news bulletin we received. I will read it slowly:

The actions carried out by the PGR to comply with the arrest warrants in Chiapas State have been strictly legal, and human rights have been respected.

That is the first paragraph. The second paragraph reads:

In compliance with instructions from the Presidency today, the PGR will not conduct any actions in Chiapas that could provoke clashes. In the meantime, we will await a decision by the Federal executive branch and Congress on an amnesty law.

Those were the first two paragraphs of a bulletin received from the PGR.

EZLN Guerrillas Set Conditions for Resuming Talks

PA1602034295 Hamburg DPA in Spanish 0133 GMT 15 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Altos de Chiapas (Mexico), 15 Feb (DPA)—The Mexican Zapatist guerrillas today agreed to begin negotiations with the government, but set conditioned renewed talks to the Army's withdrawal from rebel territory, the freeing of prisoners, and the canceling of arrest warrants against Zapatist leaders and followers.

"One cannot talk to someone who is being chased," said "Major Ana Maria," spokeswoman for the rebel movement, in statements today to journalists in Altos de Chiapas, the area where the city of San Cristobal de las Casas is located.

The guerrilla leader also stated that "Subcommander Marcos," whom the Mexican Army has been chasing since Friday, "is well, resisting in the mountains," but admitted that the Zapatists are without communication in a Lacandona jungle fortress.

"Subcommander Marcos says it was the government that broke off the dialogue and that it was the government that started the war. We are still willing to hold a dialogue, but it must be clean," stated "Major Ana Maria," who said she spoke on behalf of the guerrillas' leader, who on Thursday was identified as being Rafael Sebastian Guillen Vicente.

"They are completely cut off, they cannot issue anything, the comrades cannot speak, the path is totally closed off," she added, referring to the siege laid by the military since Thursday, the day when President Ernesto Zedillo ordered that "Marcos" be captured.

"Ana Maria," an Indian leader who led the takeover of San Cristobal de las Casas when war broke out on 1 January 1994, told journalists that "the military is everywhere" and that it "is arresting and torturing people, mainly in the jungle."

Referring to President Ernesto Zedillo's speech, who yesterday ordered a halt to offensive operations to allow an opportunity to search for a political solution to the conflict, she admitted that "there are signs for dialogue."

Nevertheless, she said that the EZLN [Zapatist National Liberation Army] "cannot speak because (the jungle) is full of soldiers everywhere, and it cannot issue any communique."

"In order for the EZLN to be able to speak, the government must withdraw its soldiers from where they are now, they must stop detaining people, and the arrest warrants must be annulled," she added.

Regarding the distancing of Chiapas Governor Eduardo Robledo Rincon, whose resignation was demanded by the guerrillas, the rebel leader said that "it helps clear the air," but that "the sign by the military on reaching a dialogue is missing."

Rodrigo Rincon yesterday requested a leave of absence from the governorship, in a decision to help smooth the way for a peace dialogue.

"Ana Maria" reiterated that the guerrillas have drawn back into the jungle to avoid clashing with the Army.

"We want to avoid as much as possible (the clash), because we want to show a resolve for dialogue. Up to now we have kept with the pledge to a cease-fire, to resist in the mountains, not to clash with the Army," she said.

Commenting on the request by former Governor Robledo Rincon for the mediating Bishop Samuel Ruiz to resign, she said that without the prelate "there cannot be dialogue."

EZLN Commander Interviewed

BR1602153695 Madrid EL MUNDO in Spanish 16 Feb 95 pp 1, 19

[Report on interview with Lieutenant Ana Maria by Guiomar Rovira in San Cristobal de las Casas; date not given: "Marcos Is Well, Holding Out So Far in Mountains"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] San Cristobal de las Casas—"Deputy Commander Marcos is well. So far he has been holding out in the mountains. The federal troops are advancing, whereas they are retreating. Therefore there is no communication; they do not even have any communication in order to learn what is happening."

The words of the Zapatist leader, who condemned Mexican President Ernesto Zedillo for breaking his promise to halt his Army's offensive, arrived through Lieutenant "Ana Maria" in the early hours of the morning.

"The federal Army is continuing its advance toward the interior of the jungle, and the EZLN [Zapatist National Liberation Army] is continuing to retreat toward the mountains in order to avert a clash," this Zapatist officer stated about 40 km from San Cristobal.

"The EZLN is prepared for a serious dialogue in order to resolve the conflict once and for all." Lt. "Ana Maria" emphasized that for the EZLN to be able to sit down and talk, it is necessary "for the government to withdraw its military forces from the places where they are now, stop detaining people, and cancel the arrest warrants issued by the Attorney General's Office."

"The government must realize that you cannot talk with somebody you are persecuting," this Zapatist officer argued. And she added: "Deputy Commander Marcos says that it was the government which broke off the dialogue and started the war. We are prepared for the dialogue to be fair."

The rebel lieutenant stated that they will not take part in a dialogue such as last year's dialogue in San Cristobal, in which nothing was resolved. "They misled us and there was nothing tangible. The federal government was just gaining time in order to prepare the military action."

"Ana Maria" also said that President Zedillo's announcement on halting the whole military offensive and Governor Eduardo Robledo's resignation are "a signal for dialogue," but the EZLN cannot talk because "there are troops on all sides, and it can issue no communique. The military are everywhere in the jungle, detaining and torturing." The Zapatist leader emphasized: "It is necessary to resolve the military issue in order to be able to speak of dialogue, and stop all the atrocities which the Army and the police are committing inside the jungle."

No clash between the two armies has occurred as yet, this 26-year-old lieutenant with her face covered by a ski mask explained. "What the federal Army is doing is to reach the towns and detain the people who have not been able to leave, because in some places the helicopters (?arrive) very quickly, and people have no time to escape."

Almond-Shaped Eyes

"Ana Maria," who has beautiful almond-shaped and lively eyes, asserted that "there is no signal from the military for the dialogue to continue. The signal would be for the federal Army to withdraw. How are we going to talk if we are persecuted? In the first place, they need to halt the military actions which they are carrying out in there (in the jungle), and withdraw the police."

However, despite the criticisms made by the EZLN, Mexican military sources insisted yesterday that the hunt for Deputy Commander Marcos has been halted.

"We are not trying to find him," Attorney General Antonio Lozano Gracia asserted in statements to Mexican radio stations.

The Attorney General's Office also has orders to carry out "no action in Chiapas which could cause confrontations." [passage omitted]

Bishop: Conai To Continue Mediation Efforts

PA1502143495 Mexico City XEW Television Network in Spanish 0430 GMT 15 Feb 95

[Statement by Bishop Samuel Ruiz to unidentified reporters in San Cristobal de las Casas, Chiapas on 14 February—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Good evening, everyone. In the current serious circumstances, Conai [National Mediation Commission] stands by its decision to continue to actively contribute with its intermediation task, which is recognized by the federal government and the EZLN [Zapatist National Liberation Army].

Conai expects Eduardo Robledo Rincon's request to the local Congress for a leave of absence from the constitutional governor's post to be a true contribution to the peace process in Chiapas and the country.

Conai maintains its expectations that the president of the republic's instructions to the Attorney General's Office and the Mexican Army not to take offensive actions that could spark confrontations constitute a political gesture that will open the door to other reconciliatory actions by both sides, which will make possible the dialogue that the federal executive has repeatedly offered to the EZLN.

Conai is convinced that a political, civilized solution that avoids war requires all concerned parties to establish a dialogue and negotiations.

Regarding the new amnesty initiative, Conai considers it necessary to evaluate the significance of the amnesty law issued in January 1994.

Conai reiterates that it is imperative that accommodations are made to guarantee society in general its right to factual information and assurance that the civilian population's human rights are protected, both within and outside the conflict zone.

Vatican Wants Bishop Ruiz' Resignation

PA1602023595 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 2027 GMT 15 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Guadalajara, 15 Feb (NOTIMEX)—Guadalajara Cardinal Juan Sandoval Iniguez today requested that Samuel Ruiz Garcia, bishop of San Cristobal de las Casas, Chiapas State, abandon his post in view of the Chiapas people's demands.

The role of Bishop Ruiz Garcia as president of the National Mediation Commission (Conai) "is not the responsibility of the Catholic Church," Sandoval Iniguez said when interviewed at the Industrialists Club in this western Mexican city.

The Vatican has sent two requests for Ruiz Garcia's resignation based on the fact that "neither his theology nor pastoral activity are in keeping with the Catholic faith," Sandoval Iniguez added.

The cardinal's remarks come one day after Eduardo Robledo Rincon requested a leave of absence from his post as governor of Chiapas and demanded that Ruiz Garcia give up his role as mediator in the conflict to achieve peace in that region.

The Conai acts as mediator between the government and the Zapatist National Liberation Army (EZLN), which took up arms in January 1994 in support of Indian demands.

Sandoval Iniguez said the Attorney General's Office (PGR) can summon Bishop Ruiz Garcia to give testimony about the conflict in Mexico's southeast.

The Guadalajara cardinal said that Samuel Ruiz, one of the 100 bishops in Mexico, must not be "viewed as the Mexican Church."

Zedillo Anti-EZLN Motivation Questioned

95CA0132A Mexico City LA JORNADA in Spanish 14 Feb 95

[Commentary by Carlos Fuentes, novelist and social critic: "The Chiapan Question"; received via Internet]

[FBIS Translated Text] Did Ernesto Zedillo read the article in TIME Magazine that openly discussed the "meltdown" of the president? Did he think about the fact that what Bishop Berkeley said more than two centuries ago, that to be is to be perceived, applies in politics even more than in philosophy? Did he become impatient with being perceived as a weak and politically inexperienced president? Did it bother him that his presidency, based on a much firmer electoral foundation than that of his predecessor, Carlos Salinas, did not enjoy the strength that Salinas acquired so quickly? But how did Salinas become so strong, given that his electoral legitimacy as president was so debatable? Could Zedillo gain strength and win public confidence with the equivalent of the "Quinazo" staged by Salinas to so much applause in January 1989, when charges were filed against the abominable oil leader Joaquin Hernandez Galicia and he was thrown in jail?

What "Quinazos" were left for Zedillo, besieged by the successive devaluations of the peso, the flight of capital, the evaporation of reserves, the threats of a payment moratorium and bankruptcy, the loans with or without conditions? Did he not have four good options and one bad one? Was not the first good option to remove a flagrantly mediocre cabinet and replace it with a truly competent one, representative of national talent and plurality and dedicated to dealing with an emergency situation? Was not the second good option to ensure a just, credible, and quick conclusion to the Colosio, Posadas, and Ruiz Massieu cases, three assassinations that overshadow the public consciousness and the prestige of the judicial apparatus that Zedillo intends to reform? Was not the third good option to proceed, building on previous accomplishments, to establish full democracy in Mexico, based on the National Political Accord signed by the parties and the government last January? And was not the fourth option to maintain the truce in Chiapas, arming himself with patience and more patience, as the president said a little while ago, arguing against the hawks inside and outside the ruling party that using force in Chiapas would not put an end to violence in Chiapas, but would actually fuel it there and in the rest of the country?

Why did Ernesto Zedillo choose the fifth and worst of his options: to break the truce in Chiapas? Because it was the easiest way to dispel the image of presidential weakness? Even though he ran the risk of appearing to be weaker than ever, a prisoner of the Army, the national hawks, international sharks, and above all the U.S. Government? In light of the flagrant contradiction between the policy of skillful patience and eagerness to negotiate that characterized yesterday's Zedillo and the militarist policy of today's Zedillo, how can we tell who is in charge of whom: the president of the Army, or the Army of the president? Is the president unaware that responding to popular violence with official violence exposes the latter as what it really is: impunity?

Why did he finally run out of patience, imagination, and willpower, even in the face of Cmdr. [as published] Marcos's extremist rhetoric and publicity stunts? Did he not know that the mere presence of the Army on the perimeter of the truce was enough to contain the conflict and buy him more and more time, but also to escalate the political imaginativeness required of his eventual solution? Was he not obliged to negotiate with hooded insurgents in the Catholic Church in the hopes that perhaps the country would no longer have to negotiate with hooded officials in the church of the PRI?

Does anyone believe that the arsenals discovered in Veracruz and the Federal District really pose a threat to the government, assuming they belong to the Zapatist National Liberation Army (EZLN)? Are these absurd "arsenals" (10 guns, 3 homemade cannons, 18 grenades, 2 mines, 9 kilos of explosives, and 946 cartridges) bigger than those of any well-provisioned bandit in one of our major cities? Is it not true that any small-town cacique in Mexico is better armed than that?

And why, in a regime that claims to be committed to reform and effective justice, do we have the public spectacle of an attorney general displaying the paraphernalia of a miserable arsenal, mixed in with putative evidence of subversion—books, magazines, articles, issues of TIME and THE NEW YORK TIMES? What is left of the supposed independence of an attorney general from an opposition party, when he discovers that an armed movement has arms and that hundreds of publications have dealt with the Chiapas conflict? Is he trying to destroy the increasingly shaky reputation of the National Action Party (PAN) as an opposition party? Is Porfirio Munoz Ledo right when he talks about a PRI-PAN two-party government? Has the "Procuraduria General de la Republica" [Office of the Attorney General of the Republic] become the "PANaderia General de la Republica" [General Bakery of the Republic—a play on words based on the acronym PAN and the Spanish word for bread]?

And much more seriously, does this spectacle, worthy of the Holy Inquisition, portend an ideological witch hunt, the demonization of heterodoxy, be it political, intellectual, or sexual? Are we on the threshold of an Argentine-style dirty war? What guarantees are there for citizens, newspapers and magazines, universities, and research centers, and above all, individuals and their families, when an inquisitorial climate is created, an atmosphere of criminal conspiracy, in which all of the country's political cavemen feel that the president's admirable energy and aspirations give them carte blanche to act in defense of the institutions threatened by rebels, leftists, atheists, homosexuals, AIDS victims, women calling for the right to abortion—in short, the abnormal? Have we not seen these dark chasms open up all too often in our time, sometimes as part of a deliberate policy, sometimes the result of government negligence or weakness that the hawks seize upon, turning themselves into the champions of a liberty that excludes the rest because only they are the privileged interpreters of presidential thought?

Is Zedillo not opening up this ominous possibility when he demonizes the leaders of the EZLN, saying that they are "neither popular, nor Indian, nor Chiapan"? Are they not Mexicans, in any case? Did Simon Bolivar have to abandon his position as a Venezuelan aristocrat to free the slaves from the Peruvian "mita" [labor tribute system]? Did Che Guevara have to stay out of the fight in Cuba because he was Argentine? Did the priest Hidalgo, a reader of Rousseau, have anything to do with the ignorant rabble of the Mexican independence movement? And at what point did the Zapatist representatives become criminals worthy of extermination by the government instead of leaders worthy of negotiations?

Is there truth in the reports of summary executions in Chiapas, in the statements by Zapatist women that they were tortured and that confessions were wrung out of them with threats and electric shocks? And who can assure us that, once the Zapatist insurgency has been eliminated, the age-old problems of Chiapas will really be tackled? Would these problems be present in our consciences if it were not for "Marcos" and the EZLN? Will Chiapas, without "Marcos" and the EZLN, fall once again into the hands of inept and corrupt governors? Will the ancestral claims of the region once again sink into oblivion, despair, and injustice? Why are the Zapatist insurgents branded as criminals, while the estate owners, ranchers, clear-cutters, and landowners who exploit Chiapas with impunity, thanks to the treachery of their "white guards," are treated like innocent maidens? Why do we always see so much violence against the weak in the name of the law, and so much justice toward the powerful in the name of impunity?

Will this war, begun anew by the government, end up merely restoring the "status quo ante bellum" in Chiapas? Will it be a brief war, a surgical operation in which the voices of protest and justice are ultimately drowned out by the chorus of adulatory, legalistic voices citing reasons of state, financial imperatives, and other smoke screens intended to cover the perpetual injustice? Or will Chiapas be a long war, a war of attrition, a Mexican Vietnam in which internal colonialists subdue their colonial subjects, a Chechnya that dares not say its name, a separatist shadow projected onto the future of Mexico by the impatience and blindness of the centralists? Is President Zedillo relying on a speedy operation that will enable him to govern from then on with a firm hand, favoring a democratic policy? Or are democracy, political compromise, and a desire to negotiate the first victims of the new war in Chiapas?

Was Adolfo Aguilar Zinser perhaps right when he warned that, with the justification of democratic reform on its side, "a government in a genuine, real, tangible transition to democracy and justice" could deprive the Zapatists of any justification and force them to negotiate? Is it too late to restore the policy of peace, patience, and negotiation on which Zedillo should have continued to base his own presidential authority? Has that authority now been yielded to the Army, the stock market, the Mexican right-wingers, who are the smallest minority but the most rapacious? Has the president of Mexico divided the country, creating the conditions for a civil confrontation?

Is it not true that Salinas's "Quinazo" enjoyed a national consensus, while Zedillo's "Chiapanecazo" lacks such a consensus, unless we identify the adulation with the entire nation? Does Zedillo have the misfortune of forgetfulness, the weakening of convictions, the overwhelming weight of necessity? Or can he still be a president with the authority that he himself has explained, the authority based not on authoritarianism but on democracy? But can Zedillo conquer true authority without the support of civil society, the political parties, and their organizations?

In the final analysis, is it true that what we have here is not an isolated struggle in the Lacandon Forest, but a national struggle between the forces of darkness (PRI dinosaurs, caciques, assassins lying in wait, specialists in repression) and the forces of light (civil society as a whole)? Will Zedillo remain hidden in shadow, will he be divided between light and shadow, or will he be saved by the light? Does the answer depend on him alone, or on the majority of Mexicans? Will our national being and our democratic perception coincide in the end? Can we achieve that coincidence without the "moral need for peace," as Miguel Angel Granados Chapa so eloquently describes it, calling it indispensable in "a nation beset with poverty and inequity, gripped today by the war imposed by the devaluation crisis and the handling of that crisis, in which everyone is pitted against everyone else," a nation which, on top of all of these ills, is now burdened with a war of persecution in Chiapas?

Radical Change in Policy Urged

95CA0127A Mexico City LA JORNADA in Spanish 11 Feb 95

[Commentary by Enrique Calderon Alzati, director general of the Civic Alliance: "The Magnitude of the Crisis and the Need for Change"; received via Internet]

[FBIS Translated Text] We are quickly learning to accept the numbers: $17 billion last month, and $51 billion more in the credit line that we will supposedly receive soon. The figures are easy to remember, but their true dimension is impossible to grasp.

As in other cases when very large numbers are involved, these figures are worth comparing with those of other well-known social phenomena. One is the reconstruction of Europe after the Second World War; others come from our own recent history.

After six years of uninterrupted destruction, battles, and bombardments that took more than 20 million lives throughout Europe and that destroyed homes, factories, power plants, hospitals, and schools, the United States created a $31 billion humanitarian aid fund that was spent between 1947 and 1949 to provide food and medicine and to meet basic needs on the continent (where there were more than 10 million orphans). Afterwards, under the Marshall Plan $47 billion more was allocated for the reconstruction of Europe through industrial and economic projects in 15 nations over the ensuing 20 years. The numbers add up to a sum slightly greater than what has been earmarked for Mexico in just two months to offset speculative transactions, the luxury spending of a small minority, and the tactical errors of the government, whose criminal nature is becoming increasingly evident. What is the point? The former program provided support; this one, in contrast, represents debt, which we Mexicans will have to pay back without really knowing in exchange for what or why.

When Carlos Salinas gave us his song and dance about the historic significance of his reducing the external debt, he was talking about $8 billion, a little more than one-tenth the amount of the loans that we are now trying to obtain. And if this was as marvelous for Mexico's future as Salinas said it was (although we never got to see anything), we can only imagine what nine times as much in loans is going to mean. And in this case we do not doubt for a second that we are going to see the results!

During the entire Lopez-Portillo administration the government borrowed $65 billion, a little less than we are trying to get today. The damage that that debt did to us came in the form of unemployment, low income, and appallingly poor public services. So, we do not need to inquire what is in store for us. But perhaps it bears recalling that in those days Mexico was a richer, more vigorous country with low unemployment and a small foreign debt, and the government owned 1,200 enterprises, many of them highly profitable, like Telmex, which we know today is among the most lucrative on the entire continent. Most importantly, however, the money that the country borrowed was supposed to be used to build production infrastructure and to generate jobs, whereas today's borrowing is "to stabilize the financial markets."

How did we arrive at this incredible situation? Very simple, through a few government actions that were designed to preserve the fantasy of Salinas' marvelous model of neoliberal development just as it was starting to spring leaks. The owners of capital took masterful advantage of these actions to reap the juiciest of profits without caring about the damage that they were doing to the nation.

Faced with the impossibility of harnessing sufficient funds to meet its investment, spending, and debt-repayment commitments, the Salinas government finished off the money it got from the sale of parastate enterprises and banks and made the reckless (and illegal) decision to create the famous Tesobonos, a sort of external debt disguised to prevent Congress from becoming involved and civil society and the opposition from becoming suspicious. The Tesobonos wound up having the worst features of the foreign debt, carrying much higher interest rates than international loans and very short maturities and being payable in accordance with the value of the dollar. Who dreamed all this up? Deputy Commander [Subcomandante] Marcos, no doubt.

The peril and folly of the measure reflects, among other things, the magnitude of the disaster caused by the neoliberal economic model and Salinas' urgent need to conceal the economic and financial problems that his economic policies had caused the country. If the credit measures that the government is trying to implement today are sound and sensible, they are such only in comparison to the preposterous and unsound measures taken by Salinas' team. It is inexplicable, therefore, that President Zedillo should announce that he will maintain the neoliberal model, without giving a moment's thought to the damage that it will continue to do to the entire country, so that the same group of social criminals can pursue their successful business plans. We are being told today that the credit lines will not increase the debt. In a way this is true. But what we are not being told is that the idea is actually to regularize loans that were received under illegal conditions and that did increase our foreign debt...behind the nation's back! Lest this happen again, the country needs a change commensurate with the magnitude of its crisis.

Government View of Zapatists Rejected

95CA0128A Mexico City LA JORNADA in Spanish 12 Feb 95

[Commentary by Carlos Montemayor, Indian affairs specialist: "Chiapas, Again"; received via Internet]

[FBIS Translated Text] Ever since 1 January 1994, all Mexicans have known that a guerrilla group rose up in arms in Chiapas. This fact has not changed since then, nor did it change during the peace talks, nor did it change yesterday. We did not know exactly where that group fit in with the rest of the Mexican guerrilla movement, and of course, we did not know the names of its principal members.

On the other hand, all Mexicans have known for 200 years that the epithet "guerrilla" has always been used synonymously with bandit, gunman, traitor to the fatherland, or common criminal. Such was the case with Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, Jose Maria Morelos, Vicente Guerrero, Juan Alvarez, Emiliano Zapata, Francisco

Villa or Arturo Gamiz and Lucio Cabanas. After nearly 200 years of our so-called independent life in Mexico, we are entering yet another stage in which the official version insists on giving the country an extremely narrow view of a conflict that it does not want to be seen as popular, indigenous, or Chiapan.

Throughout 1994, I warned of the danger inherent in the official tendency to reduce the problem in Chiapas to a simple conflict involving an armed nucleus from outside the region. To be sure, this reduction unfortunately made it possible for the federal and state governments to explain the Chiapan conflict in terms of parameters that exempted them from any commitment to social change in Chiapas. Now it appears that we are seeing only the end of the official process of denying that the Chiapan conflict is an agrarian or social problem; government statements give priority to identifying guerrillas rather than the political, agrarian, economic, or ideological caciques who are trampling the rights, lives, heritage, and cultures of numerous Indian regions. I will say it again: The identification of the guerrilla nucleus or of its sources of economic or political support does not resolve or help to explain the support that the Indian communities have lent to the guerrillas over the years and continue to lend them today.

Because the social circumstances that led these communities to support the guerrilla contingent are indeed popular, indigenous, and Chiapan. But the ringleaders of the exploitation, discrimination, and social repression do not appear in the official communique. The communique seems to confuse the identification of a handful of guerrillas with solving or ignoring the conditions of poverty, exploitation, and political and racial discrimination that plague the Indian districts of Chiapas.

President Zedillo declared that the roots of the dissent are poverty, the lack of opportunity, injustice, and the lack of democracy. If his laconic generalizations are really a veiled reference to discrimination against the Indians of Chiapas, ongoing aggression against the agrarian and cultural heritage of the Indian communities of Chiapas, the failure of the Public Prosecutor's Office and the judiciary to bring justice to the Indian peoples, or the ongoing agression by "white guards" and police forces against Indian and peasant groups who are not part of the clientele of political caciques, estate owners, or the National Peasant Confederation (CNC), then he must be pointing more directly to the roots of dissent in Chiapas, as manifested in the region's support for the Zapatist National Liberation Army (EZLN), and he must accept a greater commitment to social change than his solution would entail.

On the other hand, in some respects the EZLN's demands do go beyond the Chiapas region: They correspond to broader areas of the political life of the country as a whole, because these demands for democracy are real. They are national, not the product of small, weak forces in Mexico. They are the outcry of an entire nation. Any attempt to negate that by putting out an official version that reduces the demands and social causes of the EZLN to a mere question of criminals or "guerrillas" is a major mistake that Mexico, the political parties, and the government itself cannot allow. A group of guerrillas, now presumably identified, has charged that there is a severe, undesirable cancer on Chiapas and on Mexico as a whole today. We cannot close our eyes or our ears to this denunciation, to this historic truth (and I use this word that seems to have become so popular in Mexico in recent weeks).

The public officials, Chiapas estate owners, military officials, political analysts, and police officials who think that issuing arrest warrants against a group of guerrillas obviates any dialogue or negotiation of the EZLN's political and social demands, are wrong. They should not celebrate this confusion. They should not celebrate the delay of the social, political, and economic evolution of Chiapas. They should not celebrate the delay of democracy in Mexico. Especially now, when the social polarization of Chiapas has gotten so much worse and the country's economic collapse leaves no room for authoritarianism or the narrow-mindedness of neoliberalism. It would be dangerous to reduce the clamor for social justice in Chiapas and throughout Mexico to the mere clamor of guerrilla criminals. We should not lie to ourselves. The only solid ground we have left, outside the insanity of war, is political dialogue, the possibility of a real meeting of the minds with a political opening committed to the advancement of democracy in Mexico. Identifying the main leaders of the EZLN is not tantamount to disarming its contingents or eliminating the Indian communities, whose blood should not flow at the hands of the Mexican Army.

Article Questions Correctness of Zedillo's Decision

PA1602044195 Mexico City EL FINANCIERO in Spanish 15 Feb 95 p 34

[Article by Javier Ibarrota: "The Armed Forces: Was the Commander Wrong?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] When President Ernesto Zedillo, commander in chief of the Armed forces, ordered the Mexican Army to enter the zones allegedly controlled by the EZLN [Zapatist National Liberation Army] rebels, the information delivered by the 2d section of the high command, in other words, military intelligence, had already been analyzed and evaluated by the president's political advisers.

The National Defense Secretariat's intelligence section had indicated from the beginning that the Chiapas uprising did not represent much of a military problem, not even because of the rugged features of that state's jungle terrain. Elite troops of the 7th military region had been stationed in Chiapas since 1983 for a reason.

In addition, that same year, General Enrique Cervantes Aguirre, current national defense secretary, was appointed commander of the 31st military region headquartered at Tuxtla Gutierrez. Gen. Cervantes is, without a doubt, the most experienced general in antiguerrilla warfare, as attested by his performance in defeating the guerrillas headed by Lucio Cabanas in Guerrero in the seventies.

While the presidential order was intended toward having the Armed Forces provide support to the Office of the Attorney General of the republic in executing arrest warrants against several EZLN leaders, the Army was aware of the need to prepare itself not for a police operation, but a military one, and they made this known to the commander in chief.

Statements by Gen. Ramon Arrieta, commander of the Parachutist Brigade, one of the corps considered an elite force within the Army, and published by LA JORNADA newspaper—"It Is War"—corroborates this fact.

Thus, after learning of the military intelligence report, the commander in chief of the Armed Forces began, without a doubt, to assess information from his political advisers to arrive at a decision.

The information handled by his political advisers was based on the uncovering of the "arsenals," which according to the Office of the Attorney General of the republic, indicated that the EZLN was preparing for an escalation of violence, and in locating several individuals who were allegedly members of their leadership.

And there is more. Two days before President Zedillo decided on the military option, Government Secretary Esteban Moctezuma was at the National Defense Military College to give a speech with the suggestive title of "Politics, and Internal Strategy for the Nation's Development." We should not forget that a few days before, President Zedillo had sent Esteban Moctezuma to meet with Subcommander Marcos with the intention of finding a peaceful solution.

When the moment arrived, the Army made its commander in chief aware of the plan to be executed, the degree of difficulty represented by the terrain where the rebels were located, the amount of time it would take to occupy the region, and the number of casualties the Armed Forces would probably sustain.

Likewise, the civilian "advisers," informed the president of the existence of "safe houses," "arsenals," and the whereabouts of the rebel leaders.

The order was given. The Army advanced in accordance with the military plan. The region, at one time the Zapatists' domain, is now totally under military control. The routes through the jungle used by the Zapatists to escape toward the border with Guatemala are well known to the Army, and although the Army did sustain casualties, they were not even close to what had been estimated.

On the other hand, the Office of the Attorney General was able to arrest several rebels who are currently on trial, and soon, a veredict will either have to be rendered or they will be released.

Yet, there is still one question floating in the air that disturbs everyone: Did the military intelligence reports, as well as the information provided by the political "advisers" record Subcommander Marco's arrest, or at least his whereabouts?

In this deteriorating paper war, Marcos is the EZLN and vice versa. It would seem, as seems to be happening, too risky to launch a military operation without having the main rebel leader under custody. At least that is what the most elemental lesson of logic would point to, especially for a government that can no longer risk its scarce political resources.

If, we must insist, the information received by President Zedillo provided no evidence of the arrest or at least, of Marcos' location, then someone embarked the president on an enterprise that is extremely dangerous for the immediate future of his administration.

However, if the reports did not even indicate Marco's possible location, then one would have to admit that the president of the republic and commander in chief of the Armed Forces made a grave mistake.

The Office of the Attorney General can withstand another humiliation in its history. Not the Army.

Article on Chiapas Developments, Zedillo's 5 Feb Speech

PA1602042695 Mexico City EL FINANCIERO in Spanish 8 Feb 95 p 40

[Article by Javier Ibarrola: "The Armed Forces: The Final Hour;" words within italics as published]

[FBIS Translated Text] Chiapas has become a repeated term in every speech to the point of wearing away historical memories. Fourteen months have gone by since a gang of masked individuals turned the country upside down—we must recognize this—not so much because of what they could represent in the military arena, but because of the political perversity in which it acted.

To place the issue in the speech President Ernesto Zedillo delivered in Queretaro on 5 February and in the many interpretations all sectors of society have given it, we need to recall that day of 1 January 1994.

That first morning of 1994, the so-called EZLN [Zapatist National Liberation Army], headed by a chimerical white man who has little or nothing in common with the Chiapas Indian community, issued a "war declaration" with which it intended "to move forward toward the country's capital while defeating the Mexican federal Army; to demand the resignation of President Carlos Salinas; to begin summary trials against Mexican federal Army soldiers and political policemen who attended courses and were advised, trained, or paid by foreigners; to form new rank and file with all those Mexicans who were willing to join their fair cause; and to request the unconditional resignation of the enemy quarters before engaging in confrontations."

The EZLN attacked several municipalities, inflicting property damage on public buildings and looting stores. Likewise, it attacked the Rancho Nuevo military garrison.

These attacks constituted its letter of introduction. Carlos Salinas decreed a cease-fire, granted an amnesty to everyone, and began wickedly playing with all the political forces of the nation, letting the rebel group and the conflict in general acquire national dimensions.

Today, 14 months later and following repeated governmental invitations to hold talks, the EZLN leadership continues to be intransigent, marred by the stubborn participation of Bishop Samuel Ruiz and the partiality of the nebulous National Mediation Commission.

The EZLN knows it was never a military problem, and its actions limited themselves to the wordiness of *Subcommander Marcos.* This is why it changed its war-like raids for demands for the disappearance of the Chiapas constitutional government, involving the PRD [Party of the Democratic Revolution] and Cuauhtemoc Cardenas, who naively fell into the gambling den that Subcommander Marcos laid out for him. That's fine!

History does not wait for those who are late, and Dr. Zedillo can wait no longer. "If the proposed alternatives fail to yield results, I will proceed to summon a special session in congress to ensure that, within the framework of the new responsibility that the executive and legislative branches are forging together, we will be able to help determine the most adequate alternatives to assure the definite solution to the conflict." This statement was the sentence Dr. Zedillo rendered in Queretaro.

Although this sentence should not be interpreted as an "ultimatum" for the rebel group, it is undoubtedly a firm and adamant attitude to end one of the problems that, should it continue to exist, will not let Zedillo adequately run the country.

Even though the Constitution (Article 89, Paragraph VI) grants authority to the president of the republic "to order the entire permanent armed forces—that is, the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force—to protect the interior of the federation and to defend it abroad, Dr. Zedillo, in his sketched governing style, is seeking bicameral consensus for future actions in the Chiapas case.

The Armed Forces have not relinquished their loyal and disciplined attitude, and Dr. Zedillo knows it. It is important to outline some events that took place days before he delivered his message in Queretaro.

Two generals, who were mentioned at the time to head the National Defense Secretariat, were relieved of their commands. At the 3d Military region, which comprises Chihuahua, Durango, Sonora, Baja California Sur, and Sonora [as published], General Juan Lopez Ortiz relieved Gen. Enrique Garcia Elizalde, who had occupied the post for five years.

At the 7th military region, which comprises Chiapas, Tabasco, Oaxaca, and part of Veracruz, Gen. Mario Renan Castillo Fernandez relieved Gen. Miguel Angel Godinez Bravo, who had beem in his post for seven years.

Dr. Zedillo on 2 February met with Gen. Rodolfo Reta Trigos, high-ranking officers, and retiring military officers at the weapons factory. On this occasion, Dr. Zedillo was very emotional as he addressed the military chiefs, pointing out that "the Army is the guardian of national harmony and unity. It is an institute of peace and for peace with an unyielding service vocation and untarnished patriotism; it occupies a significant place in history and in the people's souls."

Meanwhile, Defense Secretary Gen. Enrique Cervantes Aguirre limited himself to telling the president that "you make us feel more solidary and more committed in the difficult times we have had to face."

At the end of the breakfast, Dr. Zedillo had to tell the military chiefs "we will be meeting often."

Actually, it is left up to the legislators to give Zedillo's speech a meaning according to the particular vision of each party. The same applies to the other sectors of society, including the Army of course. What remains clear is that the decision was made.

Democratic National Convention Document

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["Queretaro Plan Document" issued by the Third Assembly of the Democratic National Convention in Queretaro on 5 February—all subheads published in boldface; words within in italics]

[FBIS Translated Text]

FOUNDATIONS

Political Issues

In October 1910, Francisco I. Madero signed his San Luis Potosi Plan. The dictatorship against which that plan was directed was replaced 19 years later by a state party regime whose defenders have acted and act in a manner similar to those who preceded them under the Porfirio Diaz government.

This statement, which might seem exaggerated, is based on the following quotes from Madero's aforementioned document:

Both the legislative and judicial branches are subordinate to the executive branch; the division of powers, the sovereignty of states, the freedom of town councils, and the rights of citizens exist only in our Magna Carta...; the courts, instead of protecting the weak, only serve to legalize the plunder by the strong; the judges, instead of representing justice, are agents of the executive branch, whose interests they loyally serve; the legislative chambers of the Union have no other will but that of the (president); the state governors are appointed by him, and they, in turn, appoint and impose the municipal authorities.

It is also stated that instead of achieving greatness and prosperity for the country, a small group has enriched itself.

It is obvious that what has been cited has not changed in 85 years. To a great extent, this is due to the existence of a unique regime based on the government-party symbiosis and the use of the party by the president in power as an instrument for social and political control throughout the country.

Madero's slogan, "Effective suffrage, no reelection," was amply justified by Diaz's successive reelections and the total absence of respect for the citizens' will as expressed at the ballot boxes. The first part of this slogan is completely valid as a demand now. Suffrage in postrevolutionary Mexico has not been effective, free, secret, or authentic. Elections filled with irregularities and fraud have been systematically manipulated to give institutional power to the members of the official party, previously elected by the governmental leadership in accordance with the position or office. It is true there is no reelection, but this fact in itself has meant an important palliative for social discontent generated by the regime we now call priist [adjective derived from acronym of the Institutional Revolutionary Party—PRI]. Diaz's reelections eliminated any expectations, but this is no longer the case. On the contrary, every six years, expectations grow with the change in government leaders, but these expectations are dashed at the end of each six-year term. At the same time, the fact that there is no reelection has also been used by the government in its favor. This does not mean that this concept and its practice should be revised. Rather, conditions must be promoted so that in Mexico there can be an alternation of power and not the continuation of a state party regime.

Power has a corrupt, illegal, and illegitimate origin, and, in turn, it is exercised outside the state of law at the discretion of the government rulers and, for the same reason, outside the institutions and behind the people's back. In practice, the institutions are enclaves of patrimonial power, and, therefore, only in unusual cases are they at the service of the people who economically maintain them.

The legislative and judicial branches, which should counterbalance the executive, do not exist because they mainly comprise politicians and officials who owe their political existence, and sometimes their economic existence, to the president in power, the true head of his party, the PRI. Through the discipline of the party and the hierarchy of the authoritarian power, the president of Mexico imposes his decisions on the two branches that should maintain checks and balance. Without the PRI as a government appendage, the executive could not easily subordinate the other two branches of government.

A demand for the division of powers in Mexico does not mean one is being excessively constitutionalist. This is an unpostponable necessity to ensure that the institutions in charge of justice will act independently and with the greatest possible impartiality, as well as to ensure that the legislation that must regulate social coexistence between the government and those governed responds to the latter's interests and not to that of privileged minorities. In addition, a real balance of powers would at last prevent the head of the executive branch—a single person—from continuing to decide on even the very existence of Mexico as a sovereign nation.

Although the federal pact has always been fictitious, they have committed abuses in past years: The omnipotence and impunity of the chief executive has been reflected in the aberration of imposing governors through distorted legal concepts in disdain for electoral processes and their results. The issue of the sovereignty of the states of the federation and the transformation of the Federal District into a state are social and historical demands that have never been met. For as long as the economy of the states and municipalities depend on the alleged goodwill of the center, Mexico will continue to have social inequities of which everyone is aware. There can neither be state sovereignty nor free municipalities without resources.

To put an end to this corruption, the presidential system must have its limits, and economic and political centralization must disappear. There will be no progress as long as the current party-state regime continues to prevail. Once this regime is changed for one that includes authentic and truly autonomous political parties in terms of resources, and once elections cease to be fraudulent, not even the president of the republic, with his current power, will be able to impose governors, municipal presidents, deputies and senators, and much less the members of the Supreme Court of Justice.

Control over the electoral process by the federal government and its party has been an indispensable tool of the party-state regime, without which it could have not existed. Elections at all levels of government and at the federal and state congresses have been manipulated in favor of the PRI, and at times, in favor of parties that are advisable or useful to the central power. The electoral process ranges from the drafting of the electoral register to the assessment of results. This entire process in Mexico should be managed, not controlled, by society through qualified, honest, and free individuals whose decisions are limited only by the relevant laws. What is desired in Mexico can be summarized in one phrase: Votes should be counted and they should count—in other words, an effective suffrage.

An effective suffrage, however, does not solely depend on a regime of autonomous and genuine parties or on a social and independent administration of an electoral process. It also depends, as has been confirmed in past years, on the mass media. As long as the media continue to be virtual monopolies at the service of the regime, the government, and the interests it represents, suffrage will not be free and the parties and their candidates will not be competing on equal footing. Elections in today's world are to a good measure influenced by parties and their candidates through the media, especially television. Television and radio, which are public concessions granted to civilians, should disseminate honest and objective information and should help improve the culture of the Mexican people; otherwise, those who control these media could loose their concessions to society and to those who can guarantee superior performance.

Electoral manipulation and a lack of genuine answers to the demands of millions of Mexicans who do not belong to the country's privileged classes have led to the imposition of rulers and to the emergence of social movements that are demanding what the system cannot offer without undermining the minority interests it is defending. Therefore, the presence of illegitimate leaders who lack social sensibility and solid roots in their home towns has led to the militarization of large regions of the country. The evident militarization of southeastern Mexico is not commensurate with the presence of the Zapatist National Liberation Army [EZLN], which rose up in arms in January 1994, as the government claims. Tens of thousands of federal Army soldiers can be seen in towns and along roads where the EZLN has not been seen or felt. Their duty, more than establishing a cordon around the EZLN, has been to intimidate and, more often than in a few cases, to repress defenseless civilians in Chiapas and, to a lesser extent, in Campeche, Guerrero, Oaxaca, and Tabasco. The federal Army has performed preventive police duties not assigned to it by the Constitution, and what is even worse, the virtual state of siege that prevails in Chiapas has no legal base.

The national Army is actually protecting, in the southeastern area, what the federal government has not been able to maintain through institutional, legal, and legitimate means. It is supporting imposed governments and has continued to militarize the country's social and political life.

Economic Issues

In the same way the San Luis Potosi Plan was deemed by many as having been insufficient in the economic area, it is now necessary to insist on aspects related to the living conditions of millions of Mexicans. The Ayala Plan, signed by the Zapatists in November 1911, was undoubtedly the most important proposal of the time.

On could think, after so many years since the 1910 revolution, that the economic demands of those times are outdated today, but this is not the case. On the contrary, land demands, although the target of accumulations is no longer the agricultural area, continue to be valid for millions of Mexicans whose survival depends on agricultural activities.

The confiscation of land from ejido owners, communities, and even small landowners and national lands—that is, confiscations protected by autocrats and white guards [armed parapolice that support landholders in the countryside]—has left many poor Mexicans with nothing more than misery, deterioration of their standard of living, and hopelessness. If injustice is notorious in the cities, it is intolerable in the countryside from any standpoint.

One after the other, the governments of the republic, from Avila Camacho to the present, have implemented agricultural measures which benefit those who have more, and which never benefit, aside from a few exceptions, those "who own nothing more than the land they stand on," as the Ayala Plan stated. In fact, one of the most important achievements of the old revolution, specifically Article 27 of the Constitution, was recently reformed, and, in this way, the doors to any possibility of distributing land to those who had seen this as a formula for survival were closed.

If wealth distribution in Mexico was unequal before, it is even worse now. The last few administrations have invested their efforts and knowledge in favoring the already privileged and extending U.S. corporate power and influence in our country.

Focus was changed from accumulating capital from primary activities to secondary activities and beyond. This point was done, however, at the expense of surrendering the nation to financial and corporate interests which, with or without national identity, respond only to their disproportioned revenues, no matter from where or how they got them. Worse than that, the more recent Mexican Governments have encumbered the nation and severed its economic independence in the process. Beginning with the Lopez Portillo administration and all the way up to the current government, the country's economy and the state's economic policies have been subjected to mandates by the IMF and the World Bank. These, in turn, represent the interests of multinational capitals, particularly those of the United States. Mexico, on top of all that, has already been lost and now risks losing control over more of its strategic assets, oil being the first, a loss which could entail the end of Mexico as a free and independent nation and the end of its development potential.

Industrialization has certainly grown, and services have expanded, but this growth has not resulted in better real salaries for workers or employment opportunities to meet the demand for jobs. Mexican workers receive salaries eight times lower than U.S. workers with equivalent jobs. Salary improvements have consistently lagged behind rising prices, even those of staple items. Unemployment has increased at an alarming rate, layoffs continue, and businesses are still closing down despite government promises.

As if this were not enough, collective labor contracts have shrunk, and many workers benefits and achievements protected by the Constitution have, in fact, been compromised with the open complicity of labor authorities and management. Hundreds of thousands of workers do not get paid minimum wage, which is only good for calculating fines. Meanwhile, millions of other Mexicans and their families are forced to live on minimum wage when everyone knows it is insufficient to provide even the barest essentials of a healthy diet.

In contrast, capitals have concentrated at levels that are morally unacceptable. Following directions from the IMF and economists from Harvard and Chicago, the most recent administrations have freed the economy to such an extreme that thousands of medium- and small-size enterprises, which employ the largest number of workers, have been forced to shut down every year. The voracity of the financial capital and the government's failure to regulate the economy has turned the industry, agroindustry, commerce, and other services into victims of national and foreign business sharks. Due to this policy, Mexico has the dubious honor of being the only country in the world that contributed 22 names (two were already on it) in less than three years (1991-1994) to the list of super millionaires, the short and exclusive list of the wealthiest of this world.

The new experts who have ruled the country in recent years have resoundingly failed in their economic predictions. Miguel de la Madrid's six-year term, the first fully technocratic government, was characterized by six years of zero growth. Not only was there no economic growth, but inflation skyrocketed to historic record figures. In addition, it left 40 million Mexicans in poverty, half the population, and of these 17 million were in misery.

In addition, it increased public foreign debt, and the domestic debt, which was supported with dollars, also became foreign debt. As a result of that period's economic crisis, only large capitals survived, including stockbrokers. As a prize for their ability to make money at the expense of a large number of depositors, the next administration gave them the banks expropriated in 1982. After offering stable economic growth rates above 5 percent, Salinas de Gortari's predictions (an average annual growth of less than 3 percent during his administration) also failed. Instead of carrying out productive investment projects, they were overlooked and subject to indirect, speculative investments that could be easily transferred. The country was open to easy money that was sent abroad whenever it was convenient. This confirmed that our national economy, as a whole, lacked solid foundations. Salinas led the country to one of its worst crisis it has experienced after the revolution, a crisis that would explode in the hands of his successor 20 days after he took office.

This crisis, of unpredictable consequences, has revealed that the economic and privatization policies defended by technocrats have indebted the country, increased its dependence, risked our sovereignty, and has placed before us a long period of larger impoverishment and has caused the dismantling of a large part of our industrial and agricultural structures. As a result of its enormous debt, Mexico is facing financial difficulties, and its dependence on large circles of capital has grown. This situation and the public deficit are a source of wealth for a few inside and outside the country and a heavier burden for workers and additional pressure to subjugate the nation.

According to neoliberal logic, social expenses would be reduced. Instead, but without reaching the traditional levels in the budget, social expenses became a presidential social welfare program known as Solidaridad. This program did not change the situation of abandonment in many towns but took away votes from the opposition and was used to reward those who voted for the PRI. Never before had the needs and dignity of the poorest Mexicans been in the market so openly. This scandalous and demagogic policy did not work for them either. They had to alter the electoral lists and resort to all kinds of manipulations and fraud to take the PRI candidates to power. On top of all that, a revolution exploded in Chiapas, and there are no solutions at present or in the near future to the problems that caused it.

The country is in ruins and runs the risk of being looted even more. The only alternative is an abrupt change in course. The question is whether this administration, the usufructuary of the state party regime, would be willing to make this change in favor of Mexico and its majority, even though this would hurt the interests of those who guided the administration to power. Only the struggle to preserve our strategic wealth and to improve the quality of life can prevent the victories of numerous generations of Mexicans from reverting into saving interests that are not the fatherland's. Instead, we must turn economic growth into development.

Social Issues

The republic's social crisis has become extremely acute over the past few years. The number of poor or extremely poor people, as has already been said, has grown in inverse proportion to their hopes for a dignified life. Peasants without land are punished the most, along with those who have land but cannot make it produce because it is depleted or because they lack resources. Among the poorest peasants, whose condition is not much different from how they have lived for 500 years, are Indians, mainly those who live in southern Mexico.

The struggle for land in our country dates back a long time and has never been resolved. After the great agrarian restitutions and distributions under Cardenas, Mexican governments have haggled with rural Mexicans over their right to land, forcing millions to migrate to cities or to the United States in search of a future in which they can survive. The elimination of Section 10 of Article 27 of the Constitution, among others, further undermined the hope for land distribution and restitution to those who have a right to this. The Indian and peasant rebellion in Chiapas is partially explained by this reform, although the government does not want to view it this way. The Indians in Chiapas, although owners of rich land, have harvested poverty, as some distinguished people from Chiapas wrote some time ago, because the 1910 revolution had no effect on this region, just as the Zapatist social current did not pass through this region.

Workers and other salary employees also have been punished with neoliberal policies. The peasants' heroic struggle is no exception in our country. Since the very first strikes by the historic Mexican Trade Union of Electricians, workers have gone toe-to-toe with the state on many occasions, and many times they have been violently repressed. Their constitutional rights have been trampled nearly permanently: both the right to meet as well as the right to strike. The ruling party's regime has converted union corporations into appendixes of the official party, the government, and employers. As a result of this control, the salary of most union and nonunion workers has deteriorated by more than 60 percent over the past 12 years. As if this were not bad enough, collective contracts have been reduced, unions have been disbanded, workers have been prevented by force from claiming their rights or exercising them, and they suffer from constant job instability or even actual dismissal.

The regime's social policies have been so awkward that despite the fact that the middle class comprises the largest proportion of the domestic market, a necessary condition to increase production as indicated in the 1906 Liberal Party Plan, this middle class has been hard hit many times in terms of its standard of living, as well as in terms of people's ability to climb the social ladder. Instead of creating conditions for expansion and strengthening the middle classes (professionals, intellectuals, small businessmen, and mid-level employees), these people have been driven toward a proletariat dynamic, unemployment, or to an underground economy, which is also called the informal economy.

Power in Mexico has taken advantage of the disenfranchisement caused by the crisis—the old and the new one—to try and dismantle social cohesion and solidarity. This strategy has tried to prevent social solutions to the aggressive public policies in favor of those already privileged. The Chiapas uprising has accomplished, such as the 1985 earthquake did on a different scale, a still inadequate solidarity awakening among broad sectors of society. Nevertheless, now more than ever, especially following the recent devaluation and its aftermath of price hikes, business closures, and more privatizations, most of the people and even a few high society citizens have organized to protest, display their nonconformity, and struggle for a better and sovereign Mexico.

Therefore, despite the fact that society has been commandeered of all of its rights and possibilities for improvement and well-being, we are witnessing social and grass-root efforts to recover a social identity, such as was demonstrated in the great civic drive of 1988 and since January 1994. There is an ever-growing awareness that the elimination of the most legitimate hopes for land, work, housing, health, education, services, culture, and security must be reversed and that these hopes must be turned into reality in an atmosphere of peace, justice, and dignity.

Regarding Chiapas

Just as many of the constitutional declarations that define the country's democratic, republican, and federal nature have become paper tigers, this increasing disparity between the Constitution and the country's reality is repeated at the state level with serious consequences for the people.

The common denominator of all federal states is for most governors to be directly or indirectly hand-picked by the center. The head of the federal executive branch chooses governors based on the following: sometimes through negotiations with other forces (entrepreneurial, corporate employees, or political groups among the elite), and sometimes because of interests of the head of the executive branch himself. In this way, sovereign states are being converted into veritable viceroyalties. The viceroys, because of the very origin of their appointment, can only be loyal and can only comply with obligations toward one person—namely, the person who placed him in power. Granted, there are exceptions, and there have been exceptions, but they are just that: exceptions, not the rule.

Alliances and complicities, to a lesser degree, are emerging in certain states, which determine who has political-institutional power and who has economic power. That is why governors, with certain exceptions, become involved in cases of abuse, eviction, and even repression if necessary against the majority of the population. The more than 40 million poor people in the country are the product not only of federal policy but of its duplication, frequently cruder and ruder in the states of the federation. That is why municipalities are not free and autonomous, nor are the other branches of state government (legislative and judicial).

The aforementioned situation, which we have briefly explained, is reflected with a greater emphasis in the resources that flow from the states to the federation and return to the states. For every 100 units of wealth (taxes, agricultural products, livestock, mining products, manufactured goods, or energy), the states get back 20 or less. Of course, what is taken from states that have resources is not always used to develop other states that do not have them, as it should be according to the federal pact.

Chiapas is a perfect example of this serious situation. A state of abundant wealth in agriculture, livestock, energy, forestry, tourism, and culture, it is one of the poorest states in the country. A high percentage of its municipalities are officially classified as very poor. All hopes of well-being are closed to its residents, especially the Indians, whose *status*, according to those with a certain political or economic power, is commonly subhuman. It has been the Indians of Chiapas, more so than the non-Indians, who have been exploited the most and who have been the poorest, not just for the past few years but for the past centuries. That is why they said *enough* on 1 January 1994.

They said *enough* to 500 years of exploitation, discrimination, and abuse. They demanded, as we have done up to now: *work, land, shelter, food, health, education, independence, freedom, democracy, justice, and peace.* These are 11 demands that summarize their wishes and shortages for centuries. Eleven demands that explain their desperation and, therefore, their uprising.

The supreme government, as the EZLN ironically calls it, has answered these just demands with demagoguery, bribery, co-optation, intimidation, imposition of a governor who got there by fraud, and even with military occupation of the state beyond the perimeter of the area under EZLN control.

Salinas de Gortari's central government turned a deaf ear to the Zapatists' demands and, among others, to the population's call for clean, aboveboard, and genuine elections. As with other elections throughout the country, there was fraud of colossal proportions in Chiapas, as patently obvious as few others have been, combined with all sorts of pressure and harassment against most of the population.

The local congress was useful only to legalize and swiftly ratify the elections, with the winner being PRI candidate Eduardo Robledo Rincon, whom to date has only been able to keep himself in office with the support of military bayonets and the presence of state and federal police.

On the other hand, the federal government has refused to acknowledge Amado Avendano's rebellious transition government, which attempts, without resources but also without weapons or security corps, to respond to the trust and the will of the thousands of Chiapas residents who voted for him.

Moreover, the forms of governments of the Indian groups in Chiapas, or of any other state for that matter, have never been acknowledged or respected. Nor has there been respect for their free determination or independent manner of governing their own social and political organizations.

Peace continues to be in jeopardy, and no firm steps have been taken to guarantee it. The federal government resorts to mere double-talk. There is much talk of dialogue and willingness to resolve the community's problems, but at the same time the number of soldiers continues to increase, the existence of *white guards* continues to be tolerated, individual rights are violated, people are murdered, and the population is subjected to a siege and more misery and afflictions than they are already experiencing.

In short, Chiapas is a state of exception, yet the branches of power have done nothing concrete to normalize the situation through the mechanisms of peace, politics, justice, dignity, and democracy.

From the previously mentioned arguments we can surmise the following:

Whereas

1. Constitutional order is not being respected by those who are required to do so, primarily by the representatives of the branches of the union.

2. The Political Constitution of the United States of Mexico has been reformed in such a way that it currently does not reflect the demands included in the original text of 1917, or the current demands by the majority of Mexicans. Worse, many of the reforms introduced into the Constitution do not represent adjustments to the changes the country has undergone but genuine attacks against the spirit of the text, as well as the objective of the Queretaro Constituent in terms of sovereignty and progress with democracy and social justice.

3. Among the aspects contemplated in the Constitution, which, in general, have not been honored, we could emphasize the separation of branches, federalism, free municipalities, democratic planning, effective voting, democracy, true freedom of association, the recently enacted but never enforced right to information, the right of all Mexicans to life with dignity, rights to safety, women's rights, swift and impartial justice, the rights of Indian groups, respect for their culture and belief, respect and advancement of our national culture, free education for all Mexicans, the right to work and health, freedom of religion, and the right of the people to alter or modify their government.

4. In short, we are not living in accordance with a genuine state of law in Mexico.

5. If a constitution defines what power really is, when there is no compliance with this constitution, what results is a situation where others are prevented from expressing their views. Specifically, there is a power in Mexico created by connections between capital and government positions. Such connections limit the chances of those without capital or outside the government of being included in the process of making decisions on the country's present and future. It is obvious to all Mexicans that this power develops and is exercised on the fringes of the law and contravenes the constitution.

6. Therefore it is not enough to fight for respect for the current constitution and to push for a new constitution. It is also necessary to fight the regime that allows that no state of law exist and that condones the selective use of power. This regime has been characterized as a party-state regime. For the time being, the struggle must be directed against this regime, at the recovery of the state of law as a form of coexistence among Mexicans, and at the exercise of power or the relationship between the government and the people.

7. The configuration of political power in Mexico is fundamentally fraudulent. As long as elections are based on fraud, vote tampering, voter intimidation, evaluation by officials who are part of the same system, disregard for the people's will, and the autocratic centralization that exists in most cases, the political composition of our country will never reflect the real wishes of the majority; neither will it respond to their needs. The election process must therefore be removed from government control and transferred to a fourth power whose independence of opinion and financial means is completely guaranteed.

8. A consistent state of law and a true division of power would be essential, yet insufficient, to preventing a presidential form of government harmful to the country's democratic development. In Mexico the president of the republic enjoys constitutional powers which, in addition those already granted by the basic law, could be overstepped to such a degree where it could take on characteristics similar to that of a monarchy, which calls into serious question the very basis of the republic.

9. Instead of serving the people, government leaders are dictators. In other words, they do not govern on behalf of the people. This general phenomenon in our country has made government leaders authoritarians; they enjoy impunity. But at the same time they are despised by the society over which they rule, regardless of which party won the elections. There are even constitutional impediments to the Mexican president being subjected to a political trial during his mandate or having his tenure revoked for serious transgressions against the society or the nation.

10. The Mexican Army, the responsibilities of which are clearly defined in the Constitution and basic law of the respective secretariat, frequently exercises police functions that are not within its aegis and that transform that institution into another entity altogether, thus undermining its reputation in the eyes of all Mexicans. The Mexican people, unlike other peoples, want a popular army, not an offensive force, for defending their sovereignty, and do not want it to act against the people. The Mexican Army must stop being an instrument of minority interests.

11. The country's environment should be regulated. Thousands of cases are pending, and many others unnecessarily duplicate or triplicate resolutions that have already been approved. The demand, made over 80 years ago, that the land should be owned by those who make it produce is still valid. The same applies to the idea that latifundism should not exist either in the open or in disguise. Mexico should be as self-sufficient in food production as possible. Peasants, whether they be Indians or not, have a right to live in dignified conditions and to not be forced to emigrate to other parts of the country or abroad. This emigration is shameful for all Mexico, when only a few people are actually responsible for this situation, because these same people have taken land away from its original owners who are then paid illegal salaries for their work. The government is also responsible for not providing the necessary resources to make land productive or leaving credits that farmers need in the hands of profiteers.

12. Article 27 of the Constitution has been amended several times. One of the most important amendments, in view of its consequences for the poorest rural population, was made during the Salinas de Gortari administration. We refer specifically to the elimination of Clause X of that article, which read: *Segments of the population who do not own land or who are unable to recover their land, because they do not hold actual title or are unable to produce the same, or because the land was taken away under legal auspices, will be given enough land and water to meet their needs. Under no circumstances will they be denied the land they need. To that effect, the federal government will expropriate the necessary land from areas adjacent to the areas which they are being asked to vacate.* The reinstatement of this clause in Article 27 of the Constitution must not be delayed. Its elimination has condemned millions of Mexicans to misery or death by denying them all the chance to own land.

13. These and many other constitutional reforms and secondary laws have been possible because the executive branch, not the legislative branch, is in fact doing the legislating. The legislative branch is not actually legislating because the state's resources, which belong to the people, are being used to install in the Congress of the Union candidates who are mainly members of the PRI and its ancillary parties. In keeping with party discipline or personal or group convenience, those candidates go along with whatever the incumbent president decides.

14. The economic policy of the previous governments has been oriented to benefit exclusively the owners of capital, forsaking protection to Mexican capitalists for the benefit of foreign investors, who have greater economic, technological, and market opportunities. The only Mexicans who benefited from this policy—and who benefited in excess—were those who have been close, out of friendship or complicity, to the leaders, particularly of whoever happens to be the president at the time. This line of favoritism includes equally drug lords, bankers, several leaders of industry and trade, the owners of virtual communications and production monopolies, as well as the owners of large transnational corporations, which have seized—directly or through figureheads and often against the Constitution—the country's assets and properties.

15. Under the presumably theorical argument of a state reform, a policy of privatizations and worker dismissals has been followed in the central and subcentral public sector. This has not only left jobless thousands of workers at the service of the state and semi-official companies and institutions, but the funds generated by these sales have been used at the president's discretion for influence-peddling purposes and with the intention of reducing the social spending of the federal government and that of many states of the federation. Those resources have been

already spent and their benefits will never be felt by Mexicans, even though a majority of us contributed the resources to buy, at the right time, such companies and institutions. Social security has been partially privatized. There is a trend to alienate from private control all social security programs, which was somehow always an incomplete victory of the 1910 revolution.

16. The main economic measures adopted by the previous Mexican governments consisting of reducing the public deficit, the size of the government apparatus, the salaries of workers, the possibilities of union organization and the rights of union members were all agreed acritically with the IMF, thus subordinating our sovereignty to the interests represented by the IMF, that is, to the interests of the world's large capitals, whose offices are located in the few existing developed countries.

17. The first-worldish and modernizing vocation of those who have governed and govern Mexico, particularly since 1976, has endangered our economic sovereignty and, far from improving the living conditions of Mexicans, it has increasingly impoverished a larger number of them. In other words, the previous leaders have deliberately confused nation with government and government with people, in such a way that they, their partners and accomplices—both national and foreign—have been the only ones to benefit from the production of wealth. With this mentality, they have led the country to a series of increasingly serious crises and, consequently, to a greater dependence on foreign powers. If this process is not stopped, Mexicans will soon be foreigners in our own country or, at best, workers and low-income employees for companies, whose profits will be used to strengthen other economies, but not the Mexican economy.

18. To impose the model described through the previous points, there have been relatively successful attempts to dismantle society as such promoting through all possible means its individualization and breakup of its traditional solidary unity. The governments of the crisis have used it and its effects on society to dismantle or, in their case, weaken all forms of workers' organizations—mainly the unions. Class organizations, consequently, virtually do not exist and have been replaced, in legitimate and desperate defense of the workers—especially urban workers—by multiclass associations, which are unstable and have concrete and secondary goals that disappear when their immediate demands are more or less met.

19. One of the sectors the policies described above could not infiltrate was the poorest sector of the population. This happened because those holding the resources did not believe this sector was worth considering and in addition, because its forms of community organization prevented the sense of community from being shattered and the individualization trend from becoming a dominant trait. It would not be an exaggeration to assume, as a hypothesis, that this was one of the reasons why a rebel movement was formed in the Chiapas jungle and mountains. With the weapons and solidarity in the hands and the spirits, this movement will fight for a decent and just life for all Mexicans. Therefore, it is not a coincidence that the Chiapas uprising—even to those who reject the use of weapons—was able to obtain so much support in the country and to awaken so many from the profound lethargy caused by conformism and apathy.

20. Local elections were held in Chiapas on the same day as the federal elections—that is, 21 August—for the 1994 transition of power. There were calls that the local elections not be held the same day as the federal elections, but these were not heeded. Under pressure, corruption, intimidation, stealing of ballot boxes, tampering with tally sheets, *ballot box stuffing, repeated transporting of the same group of voters from one polling place to another*, changes of polling places, and, as demanded by the case, reducing or increasing the number of polling places, the elections in Chiapas took place. The local congress, with amazing expediency, declared Eduardo Robledo governor-elect. For its part, the democratic state assembly of the people of Chiapas declared transitional governor Amado Avendano, the candidate of the people nominated by the PRD [Party of the Democratic Revolutionary]. The special prosecutor for electoral crimes of Chiapas, the people's jury, and the electoral tribunal of the people of Chiapas investigated and gathered testimonies, classified the crimes and irregularities, and, among other things, issued a ruling establishing that the elections should be nullified, as if they had not taken place. Robledo is an illegitimate government official who was endorsed by Zedillo when he took office, and he has been able to take office only because he is backed by the weapons of the Mexican Army, the State Public Security Police, and the Federal Judicial Police, in addition to the existing *white guards* that further darken the Chiapas horizon. There can be no peace in Chiapas as long as Robledo remains governor, because as long as he is in the palace, the most go backward and aggressive economic forces will feel protected.

In view of the above, which seeks to portray the situation in our country, the following is proposed:

PLAN

1. A democratically organized society and democatic and progressive individuals are the ones who can turn an authoritarian regime into a democratic one. A democratic regime must be built from the bottom up; from the neighborhoods and communities; from the labor and party organizations; from the peasant, student, and women organizations; and from other organized sectors of society engaged in a *vast national movement*:

A. To rescue sovereignty for the nation and the people.

B. To achieve, in keeping with this sovereignty, the authentic election of its political and social representatives, and to have the power to ensure that the representatives fulfill the mandate of the voters.

C. To replace the current national project with another one in which poverty and misery can truly be eradicated.

D. To make justice the general rule rather than the exception to protect privileges, and,

E. To guarantee that individual and social rights established in the Constitution and respect for human rights are realities and not merely precepts that go unfulfilled.

2. A necessary first step in reaching the previous point is the eradication of the state-party system in order to give way to:

A. A political party system in which no one party prevails over the rest.

B. Authentic and democratic forms of social organizations in which the decisions pertaining to their internal matters or the defense of their membership's interests are not made by a party, the government, or leaders that do not represent the people or cannot be removed by them.

C. Federal and state legislative powers that have the possibility of being autonomous with respect to the executive branch, regardless of the party that nominated them and that will roll back the constitutional amendments made since 1917, as they were generally made to favor a few in detriment of the majority.

D. Federal and state judicial powers which, according to the current legal system, are not appointed by the executive branch with the partisan complicity of the legislative branch, as allowed by the system we hope to eradicate.

E. Federal and state governments whose economic and social policies will benefit the majority and the neediest and not privileged minorities and foreign interests.

3. For the purpose of achieving the above, this vast national movement must have the sufficient broad base and strength to:

A. Force all branches of the federation to resolve in the short-term, within the scope of their authority and in a democratic way, all post-electoral conflicts in Chiapas, Tabasco, and Veracruz States in line with the people's will.

B. Demand the government to guarantee a just and decent peace in Chiapas, heeding to the equally just demands that led to the EZLN uprising.

C. Achieve a true political reform that will outlaw the conditions that gave rise to the state-party system with all it entails.

D. Undertake a profound democratic reform of the state that guarantees the free-determination and autonomy of Indians.

E. Pressure the government into modifying fiscal, economic, and social policies to overcome all social lags and significantly reduce gaps in income and quality of life.

F. Push for electoral reforms that eliminate all legal restrictions to the free participation by citizens and political parties in a just and democratic framework.

G. Promote democracy in all civilian organizations, whether within or outside the government's sphere of influence.

H. Influence society into endorsing a democratic model that combines direct and representative democracy so that future elections give rise to an authentic representation of the social classes, Indian groups, and oppressed sectors. The purpose is to modify the current political Constitution according to the objectives outlined in Point No. 1 of this Plan.

In conclusion, we declare that this Plan encompasses the interests and best goals of the nation, and, in turn, society will be able to enforce, with all that this entails, the constitutional precept of Article 39 that establishes that the nation's sovereignty essentially rests and originates with the people, and because of this, they always will have the inalienable right to alter or change their system of government. A change of this nature would give rise to a new social pact, which most probably would take the form of convening a constituent congress and the drafting of a new constitution.

Queretaro State

5 February 1995

El Salvador

Legislative President Criticizes Clinton Immigration Policy

PA1502175195 San Salvador LA PRENSA GRAFICA in Spanish 12 Feb 95 p 17a

[From the "Events" column]

[FBIS Translated Text] Legislative Assembly President Mercedes Gloria Salguero Gross has stated that the fight against illegal immigration supported by U.S. President Bill Clinton contradicts his rejection of Proposition 187, but that the shift is undoubtedly due to the Republican victory.

"Unfortunately, they are circumstantial political positions, and we must work to keep them from being implemented," the legislative president stated. She also said it was distressing, sad, and regrettable that fellow citizens who left the country due to their difficult living conditions and in search of better horizons wound up being punished.

The official said that just as they talk about economic globalization at an international level, they should talk about human globalization so everyone can freely move from one place to another as long as "we observe good conduct and respect the laws of each country."

International cables reported early last week that U.S. President Bill Clinton had emphasized his government's commitment to combat illegal immigration and called Congress to approve his new initiatives on the problem.

The U.S. President said "it is wrong and in the final instance defeatist for a nation of immigrants to allow the types of abuse we have seen in immigration laws."

According to Salguero Gross, what President Clinton is doing is counterproductive, "because so much has been said about the much touted human rights that frankly it is very disagreeable to see this retaliation against our people."

Gonzalez Offers $100 Million To Promote Economic Ties

BR1502154295 Barcelona LA VANGUARDIA in Spanish 14 Feb 95 p 10

[Report by Alberto Miguez, special correspondent in El Salvador: "Gonzalez Says He Will Send More Police to El Salvador To Combat Organized Crime"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Felipe Gonzalez said in his speech at El Salvador's Legislative Assembly (Parliament) yesterday that Spain would send more police to El Salvador to work with the National Civil Police in the fight against organized crime. The Spanish and Salvadoran Governments also signed a financial protocol to finance loans of up to $100 million (13 billion pesetas) to promote bilateral economic relations. Felipe Gonzalez spoke yesterday in front of 84 deputies of the Legislative Assembly consisting of former guerilla commanders, politicians, and former military members of the extreme Right, and of popular leaders who were in exile until a few months ago. All of them, including Ana Guadalupe Martinez, deputy president and former guerilla commander, applauded the Spanish prime minister's speech proving again their consensus and solidarity unusual in this Central American isthmus. In a lengthy speech, Felipe Gonzalez reiterated Spain's will to continue its presence during the country's new stage of national reconciliation and reconstruction, at times where he recognized the "will, perseverance and generosity" of both sides, the guerrillas and the government, to overcome the mistrust, reservations, bitterness, and external pressures. In another part of his speech, Gonzalez stated that "everybody has to avoid the temptation of making himself rich at the expense of the others." [passage omitted]

Gonzalez repeated yesterday that political normalization without economic development is a pipe dream and emphasized that Spain was willing to promote more intensive exchanges with El Salvador. Today, before ending his official visit, the Spanish prime minister will sign a program of financial cooperation totaling 13 billion pesetas.

The prime minister had breakfast with top Salvadoran businessmen belonging to the National Association of Private Enterprise. The breakfast was attended by 400 Salvadoran businessmen, representatives of 38 trade organizations belonging to the employers' organization. Spanish businessmen accompanying the prime minister during his journey through Central America also took part. Later, these businessmen had two further meetings with their Salvadoran colleagues to assess the present business climate.

This climate is relatively good and promising: Of all other Central American economies, the Salvadoran economy is working best in spite of the bloody civil war. It should grow by 3.5 to 5 percent this year, however, one problem casts a shadow on this optimistic picture: The public insecurity is also affecting businessmen, who are victims of extortions and abductions.

Spain's Gonzalez Admits Discussing Elections With Aznar

BR1502154595 Madrid EL PAIS in Spanish 15 Feb 95 p 18

[Report by I. Cembrero: "Gonzalez Admits That He Offered Aznar Election Timetable To Surmount Crisis"]

[FBIS Translated Text] San Salvador—Felipe Gonzalez said yesterday that Jose Maria Aznar, his chief political opponent, is a schoolboy, but acknowledged having proposed to him at their last meeting reaching agreement on a political and election timetable in order to emerge from the crisis. At the end of his stay in El Salvador, Gonzalez held a hectic news conference together with Salvadoran President Armando Calderon Sol in a room made hazy by the tear gas with which the riot police dispersed a demonstration in front of the president's residence. The protest resulted in two demonstrators with bullet wounds. Gonzalez left for Honduras early yesterday afternoon.

The demonstrators were men demobilized from the Salvadoran Armed Forces who are demanding the compensation and land which they were promised in order to become reassimilated into civilian life after years of war. The riot forces dispersed tear gas which seeped through the windows of the room in which Calderon and his Spanish guest were appearing.

Some journalists covered their faces with handkerchiefs in order to protect themselves. The security personnel closed the windows, and the heat in the room became unbearable. Gonzalez did not turn a hair, and did not even pick up the glass of water placed on his table, despite the fact that he was constantly perspiring.

At the end of last week, Aznar gave his account of the secret meeting which he held with Gonzalez 30 January. In essence, he said, the latter proposed to him a nonaggression pact in return for holding legislative elections in February 1996, following Spain's six months at the head of the European Union.

"I left school a long time ago," Gonzalez quipped, following a question about Aznar's disclosures, "and there are arguments which still remind me of school." Next, the head of government asserted that the People's Party leader "is well aware that the leaking" of that meeting "does not come from us." In any event, it does not seem "dramatic" to Gonzalez that the meeting became known.

Gonzalez scarcely entered into what was discussed with Aznar two weeks ago. Nevertheless, he admitted "having tried to discuss with Aznar a political timetable, but with some logic and consistency," which, in his opinion, the People's Party leader lacked in the state of the nation debate. According to Gonzalez, Aznar fell at that time into "an insurmountable internal contradiction," consisting in offering his support for bills which could not be submitted because, at the same time, he was demanding calling legislative elections in March in order to be able to hold them in May, coinciding with the municipal and autonomous community elections.

The head of government said that he still maintains "his esteem and respect from a personal viewpoint" for Ventura Perez Marino; the judge who gave up his seat as a Socialist deputy Monday. According to Gonzalez, the Galician judge's rebellion does not represent a failure of the attracting of independents, because, he asserted, "there are five independents within the government, and I am satisfied with their contribution."

With respect to Garzon, who has taken up the Anti-Terrorist Liberation Groups affair again, Gonzalez said that the government which he heads "has shown and will show absolute respect for and a desire for cooperation with justice." This is something which, in his opinion, is not done by United Left and other groups which are trying to "take political advantage of the situation" and adopt "attitudes which interfere with the work of justice."

Nicaragua

Liberal Parties Form 'Liberal Alliance'

95P20502A

[FBIS Editorial Report] Managua LA TRIBUNA in Spanish of 1 February 1995 on page 3A reports that the Liberal Constitutionalist Party (PLC), the Nationalist Liberal Party, the Independent Liberal Party for National Unity, and the Neoliberal Party have signed a document establishing the Liberal Alliance. Alliance members are committed to running candidates on a single slate for elections, according to the article. William Navarro, president of the Independent Liberal Party (PLI), rejected the document and suggested that liberal leaders were being forced to accept presidential candidates by means of "bribery and economic pressure." The article also reports that some PLI members working in the Managua mayor's office were being "pressured" by PLC President and Managua Mayor Arnoldo Aleman to join his party.

Editorials Fault Chamorro Leadership on Reforms

95P20509

[FBIS Editorial Report] A series of editorials in the Managua independent daily LA TRIBUNA criticizes President Violeta Chamorro for showing a lack of leadership and knowledge in dealing with the National Assembly over the proposed reforms to the Constitution. The editorials suggest that President Chamorro is unwilling to share power with the legislature.

In the 29 January LA TRIBUNA, political editor Felix Navarrete says that if the legislature passes constitutional reforms, a "Violeta takeover," in which Mrs. Chamorro "will order the army to occupy the National Assembly" is "just around the corner." According to Navarrete, Chamorro is against the reforms not because they will prohibit her son-in-law, Presidency Minister Antonio Lacayo, from running for president in 1996, but because they establish a "balance of power" between the executive and the legislature and thus weaken the president. The reforms will allow the Assembly to remove corrupt officials without interference from the executive, he points out, which means that "Lacayo and whoever governs in 1996 will not be able to establish in Nicaragua an authoritarian monarchical regime where one person centralizes power for his own benefit."

An unsigned editorial in the 30 January LA TRIBUNA blames President Chamorro for not drafting a "persuasive document" rebutting the reforms. On the contrary, she has "rejected the Assembly's invitations" to debate the reforms. She is also faulted for not allowing deputies from the Center Bloc, who are loyal to the Executive, to participate. The editorial also criticizes her for "not using the media to make constructive suggestions" apparently because she "erroneously" believes that it is her duty "to defend the presidential absolutism implicit in the current Constitution."

Explaining that the reforms can be passed without the president's approval, an unsigned editorial in the 31 January LA TRIBUNA criticizes President Chamorro for not getting involved in the reform process and contends that her "lack of knowledge" regarding the Constitution is "serious." If she does not promulgate the reforms, which the president is required to do when the reforms are passed by 60 percent of the representatives, "she will be performing an act of defiance."

Panama

Mixed Reaction Noted to Lewis Remarks on U.S. Bases

PA1602025995 Panama City Circuito RPC Television in Spanish 2300 GMT 15 Feb 95

[Report by Alvaro Alvarado; from the "RPC Television News" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] Once more, the renegotiation of the Torrijos-Carter Treaties is becoming an issue. Today, Panamanian Foreign Minister Gabriel Lewis Galindo met with U.S. Senator Jesse Helms, head of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, to review relations between the two countries.

Helms on several occasions has expressed interest in some U.S. military installations remaining in Panama beyond the year 2000. Foreign Minister Lewis Galindo says that Panama would be willing to study this possibility if a firm proposal is made. The Panamanian opposition says that it would not be surprised if the current administration decides to renegotiate the canal treaties.

[Begin Legislator Alberto Cigaruista recording] The foreign minister's message is clear. When the foreign minister tells the U.S. Government not to turn over some of the properties because the country is not prepared to receive them, he is asking the United States to make a proposal to study it, discuss it, negotiate it, and if possible, speak of a new treaty with them. [end recording]

But the president of the Legislative Assembly Foreign Affairs Commission upholds the view that the military bases must end their operations in Panama.

[Begin Legislator Oyden Ortega recording] My reply is that in my opinion we cannot say that we are willing to renegotiate. Anyway, if the United States is willing to renegotiate, then it, not Panama, should state this intention decidedly. [end recording]

But in a democracy, the people's majority is always right, and it seems this majority favors the military bases remaining in Panama.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified man in the street] We also must keep in mind that thousands of Panamanians, thousands of Panamanian families' livelihood depends on the U.S. bases.

[Second unidentified man in the street] The departure of Americans from Panama will bring negative consequences. I believe that the bases should remain.

[Unidentified woman in the street] They provide a lot of work opportunities for Panama; I hope they stay.

[Third unidentified man in the street] I believe the Americans should not leave because we have the dollar. [end recording]

With less than five years remaining before the Panama Canal reverts to our country, there are deep differences between the various political sectors regarding the permanence of military bases in Panama. Nevertheless, in a democratic country the people should have the last word. [end recording]

Police Discover Movement's Involvement in Gunrunning

PA1302013895 Panama City LA PRENSA in Spanish 9 Feb 95 p 1

[Report by Orlando Mendieta C.]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Judicial Technical Police (PTJ) has discovered that the National Liberation Movement (MLN-29) is the group in Panama that traffics weapons from Central and South America, and it has captured Panamanian Gaspar Lopez, identified as the person in charge of trafficking war materiel.

This information was confirmed to LA PRENSA by PTJ Director Gabriel Castro following the discovery of a new shipment of grenades and ammunition destined for South America.

A total of 24 fragmentation grenades of four types and ammunition for high caliber weapons were discovered in a double bottomed trailer house owned by Gaspar Lopez that was seized on 7 February in the parking lot at Regency Plaza on Via Espana.

The PTJ's investigations have established that the clandestine organization MLN 29, which operates in Panama, controls the trafficking of weapons between El Salvador and Nicaragua and South American guerrilla groups in Colombia and Peru.

According to the PTJ, the organization's membership includes priests, attorneys, and professors. Among the individuals whose involvement in the group is under investigation are Maribel Gordon, Federico Britton, and two other people known by the nicknames Chichito and Lucho.

MLN-29 used to purchase its resources through contributions from mostly European nongovernmental organizations.

According to the investigations, the organization is directed by Federico Britton, brother of late student leader Floyd Britton, and its finances are controlled by a priest. Furthermore, it has been determined the movement has bank accounts in Panama in which funds from its weapons sales are deposited.

The PTJ has discovered MLN-29's involvement with gunrunning at the time of the arrest of Raul Nunez, a former leader of the Revolutionary Student Federation (FER-29), Colombian Edgardo Restrepo, and Nicaraguan pastor Jose Antonio Selva, who were arrested in October 1994 for attempting to kidnap Dr. Jose Arrocha. The PTJ seized weapons and fragmentation grenades from these individuals on that occasion.

MLN-29 emerged at the end of the 70's, is of Marxist-Leninist orientation, and intends to attain power through an armed struggle.

The investigations indicate that MLN-29 is in contact with the Army of National Liberation (ELN) in Colombia, which is where its Panamanian members are trained.

Meanwhile, the PTJ yesterday captured Panamanian Gaspar Lopez, a member of MLN 29, who has been identified as the person who traveled to El Salvador and Nicaragua to ship the weapons to Panama.

Castro has said Lopez was arrested at the religious organization called "Paulist Priests," in Ciudad Radial, Juan Diaz, after a photograph of him appeared in the news media.

The police reports indicate that Lopez worked at the People's Human Rights Commission (COPODEHUPA) as a driver but that he left that job several months ago.

Lopez was questioned yesterday regarding his involvement in weapons trafficking.

The PTJ is still on the track of Peruvian Sebastian Aspillaga, who along with Lopez is responsible for the weapons shipments that were seized at the Port of Cristobal in Colon and at a warehouse and a shop in Panama City.

It has also been disclosed there are other shops that are allegedly working for the organization doing so-called "camouflage" work on the vehicles used to traffic the weapons. The camouflaging consists of the construction of false walls and floors in the vehicles to conceal the weapons and ammunitions.

Movement Denies Connection

PA1402005095 Panama City EL PANAMA AMERICA in Spanish 11 Feb 95 p A-1

[Report by Juan Manuel Diaz]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday, the 29 November National Liberation Movement (MLN 29) denied any connection with the gunrunning network discovered by the PTJ (Judicial Technical Police), while a new trailer house that was used to transport rifles to Colombia was located and a warrant was issued for the arrest of a Nicaraguan nationalized Chilean, who is said to be the leader of the traffickers.

Federico Britton, leader of the MLN-29, said that the charges are being made in view of the "foiled propaganda on the alleged plot against President Ernesto Perez Balladares and that they are now trying to fabricate new intrigues."

State security organizations located several depots of AK-47 rifles and explosives during the week. One of these shipments exploded at the Cristobal Port, killing three and wounding 26 others.

The MLN-29 organization, which emerged following the 1968 military coup and which consists of Panamanian leftists, warned the "purpose of that campaign was to unleash a wave of persecution and repression against the most combative and honest sectors of the people's movement."

"They are starting with us today, and tomorrow it will be other organizations and independent unions accused by the turncoat parties of the oligarchy in power," the MLN-29 pronouncement states.

For the MLN-29, the "campaign" against that organization seeks to divert public opinion from the discussion of important topics related to the Interoceanic Region Authority [ARI], the privatization of state businesses, and labor code reforms.

Meanwhile, Professor Maribel Gordon, who works at the University of Panama, has denied any connection or participation whatsoever with arms trafficking and has said the publications in certain media are ill intended.

The PTJ has revealed that Nicaraguan nationalized Chilean Mario Manuel Cruz Suarez is the head of an arms distribution network operating between the United States, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Panama.

PTJ Director Gabriel Castro has said that it is presumed Suarez left the country last Saturday and that efforts are being carried out with international organizations for his arrest.

It was also established that MLN-29 thrives on ghost organizations to obtain funds and financing for its operations in various parts of the country.

Investigation agents have described MLN-29 as a dangerous group wanting to achieve power through force. The agents claim to have detected other movements seeking to attain power and maintaining their cells operating in various parts of the country.

The PTJ also has reports in certain cases that weapons would reportedly be exchanged for drugs, although the destination of the drugs was not given.

Bishop Jose Luis Lacunza has said the reports are cause for concern and has announced the church rejects the use of violence.

Human Rights Committee President Denies Link

PA1302002195 Panama City EL PANAMA AMERICA in Spanish 12 Feb 95 p A-1

[Report by Arnulfo Barroso Watson]

[FBIS Translated Text] Priest Conrado Sanjur yesterday denied any link to gunrunning and subversive movements under investigation by the Judicial Technical Police (PTJ).

Sanjur, president of the People's Human Rights Committee in Panama (COPODEHUPA), also denied his organization is linked to such illegal acts, but he did not rule out an internal investigation to determine whether the charges are true.

"I protest for the tendentious manner" in which they have tried to link COPODEHUPA to such actions, Sanjur said upon returning from Costa Rica.

Sanjur, a priest from El Nancito, educated in Belgium, and currently serving as parish priest in San Miguelito, described the accusations as a campaign by sectors opposed to COPODEHUPA actions to ensure respect for the human rights of the most needy.

He also assured that the Catholic Church supports him in the face of these charges and categorically denied his organization has ties to any leftist political group.

Sanjur admitted, however, Gaspar Lopez, who was detained by the PTJ and who had been reportedly paid $400 per month to traffic weapons from Central America, worked in this organization until January 1994, when he was dismissed for abandoning his post for more than four months.

"The private actions of COPODEHUPA members have nothing to do with the organization," he said.

The priest said he will meet with the COPODEHUPA Directorate, top Catholic Church prelates, and the PTJ next week to analyze the charges.

COPODEHUPA was founded in 1986 and consists of 22 Indian, peasant, religious, and student organizations from all over the country, including the Revolutionary Students Front [Fer-29].

Sanjur added each organization making up COPODEHUPA has an identity of its own and operates independently.

Statements attributed by certain media to PTJ Director Gabriel Castro indicate COPODEHUPA is reportedly among the nongovernmental organizations that provide funds for the mobilization of the National Liberation Movement (MLN-29), which is identified as a weapons supplier for the Peruvian and Colombian guerrillas.

The MLN-29 also rejected any links to the trafficking of AK-47's and explosives discovered in the capital and Cristobal last week.

Meanwhile, the PTJ yesterday arrested a university professor who had rented a house on Florida Street, Villa Lorena, where the weapons found in the Port of Cristobal, Colon, on 6 February, were presumably packed. Lopez and the university professor, whose identity was not revealed, are the only ones arrested for trafficking weapons from Central America for sale in Colombia, Peru, and Ecuador.

The authorities are also after Manuel Cruz Suarez, a Chilean who has adopted Nicaraguan nationality, for being among those responsible for the war materiel the PTJ has seized, but he has apparently left the country already.

Meanwhile, the Third Prosecutor's Office in Colon is still holding on to a trailer house owned by Gaspar Lopez that was seized aboard a Cuban vessel named "Laura" on its way back from Cartagena, Colombia.

Information the PTJ has gathered indicates the weapons trafficking network also sent Panamanians to Colombia to receive subversive training.

One of those Panamanians is under arrest in Colombia, and his family is requesting his return.

Argentina

Brazilian, Argentine Presidents To Meet 18, 19 Feb

PY1502182995 Madrid EFE in Spanish 2135 GMT 14 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Buenos Aires, 14 Feb (EFE)—In a historic step, inconceivable about 10 years ago, the governments of Argentina and Brazil, headed by their presidents, will begin on 17 and 18 February the first of a series of bilateral meetings within the context of the brand-new Mercosur [Common Market of the South] economic space.

The two countries have passed from the danger of war, between the two general staffs of their Armed Forces, to the point of separately pursuing technological methods of achieving nuclear self-sufficiency, and to the implementation of complementary policies in all areas ranging from the economy to the struggle against terrorism.

The executive branches of the two countries, close to 70 people on each side, will meet on 17 and 18 February in the cities of Puerto Iguazu and Foz do Iguacu, in Argentina and Brazil, respectively, on both sides of the border near the Iguazu falls.

Argentine diplomatic sources informed EFE that the teams—which include ministers, under secretaries, and experts—will review a six-point agenda.

The teams will discuss "Economic Coordination" (programming, central banks); "Infrastructure" (transportation, public works, communications, energy, mining); "Production" (industry, trade, tourism, agriculture, fishing, investments); "Borders and Justice" (migration, security, drug trafficking, terrorism); "Education, Culture, Science, and Technology;" and "Social Promotion."

The sources told EFE: "We will discuss all pending bilateral issues."

This encounter will inaugurate the regular meetings between the governments of the two countries that represent the axis of Mercosur, a common market formed by Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay. Mercosur's customs union was implemented on 1 January.

In pursuit of fairness, Argentine President Carlos Menem and Brazilian President Fernando Henrique Cardoso, along with their respective cabinets, will meet in Puerto Iguazu on 17 February and in Foz do Iguacu on 18 February.

Menem and Cardoso will meet shortly after 1400 local time (1700 GMT) on 17 February on the international Tancredo Neves bridge that links the two cities on the Iguazu River banks.

The first working meeting will be held on 17 February at a hotel in the Argentine city and the second meeting will be held on 18 February at a hotel in the Brazilian city. Both hotels lie on the Iguazu falls, which are a natural wonder.

President Menem and President Cardoso will be joined by their respective foreign ministers in two of their meetings.

President Menem is scheduled to host a dinner for the Brazilian president on 17 February and the Brazilian president is scheduled to reciprocate with a lunch on 18 February.

The two presidents will hold a joint news conference on the afternoon of 18 February. Menem will return to Buenos Aires after the news conference.

Diplomatic sources noted that, with this unusual joint cabinet meeting, the presidents of Argentina and Brazil want to quickly arrive at conclusions—or initiate a path toward conclusions—on a number of issues. If these issues were discussed routinely, they would take a long time.

The agenda basically involves reviewing points arising from the establishment of Mercosur.

The result of the initial meeting of the executive branches of the major partners of this subregional market will subsequently be reported to the Paraguayan Government in Asuncion and the Uruguayan Government in Montevideo.

Di Tella, Gaviria Sign Agreement on Aid to Haiti

PY1502141995 Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 2240 GMT 14 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Buenos Aires, 14 Feb (TELAM)-—Foreign Minister Guido Di Tella and OAS Secretary General Cesar Gaviria today signed an agreement on $150,000 in aid for Haiti.

The Foreign Ministry reports that the agreement between the Argentine Government and the OAS "involves $150,000 to finance technical assistance programs and training courses in areas of interest for the Haitian Government."

Diplomatic sources told TELAM that the agreement signed today "is another Argentine gesture in support of democracy in Haiti."

Argentina's support for Haiti is part of our government's commitment to strengthen the democratic process in that Central American country.

Narcotics Official Admits Narcotics Transit, Use Problems

PY1502221895 Buenos Aires LA NACION in Spanish 13 Feb 95 p 18

[Article by Alejandra Florit]

[FBIS Translated Text] "Our country is no longer used only for the transit of drugs. We are also considered a consumer country because those involved in the drug trade are paid with drugs, and they must sell the merchandise quickly in order to collect the payment for their work."

These remarks were made by Alberto Lestelle, secretary for drug addiction prevention programming and the struggle against drug trafficking. Lestelle admitted to LA NACION that the influence of the illegal trade is slowly advancing toward the south of the continent. He added, however, that the so-called drug cartels have not installed themselves in Argentina.

According to the secretary, there are between 100,000 and 150,000 people addicted to illegal drugs in the country.

The figure does not include, obviously, users of legal drugs such as alcohol or psychopharmacological products. If we include them the figure will probably climb to more than 400,000.

The fact that the percentage of addicts in relation to the population is low compared to other countries, whose addicts represent 2.5 percent or 4 percent of their populations, is no consolation.

This is even less so if we take into account that a recent survey conducted in greater Buenos Aires showed that 6.5 percent of seventh grade schoolchildren use addictive substances.

In addition, 36.2 percent of University of Buenos Aires students confessed to consuming or having consumed drugs. Out of this total 8.6 percent are addicts.

The people responsible for these horrors are the so-called "freelance drug dealers" or small organizations that exist as a consequence of the drug transit.

They are like the two hands of a single body. They help export cartel-owned drugs to Europe, while doing their own business in the country, other reliable sources said.

Investigators as well as the people who work with Lestelle said that "the large international drug trafficking cartels are not installed here, and it is almost certain that they never will be."

The reason? "Drug barons are always near their products, and our country is not appropriate, because of weather or geographical conditions, for coca plantations," Lestelle said.

After the disbanding of the Medellin cartel, middle-level members of that organization came to Peru and Bolivia. This is called the "south effect."

During the congress to coordinate drug trafficking legislations that was held in Buenos Aires in August 1993, delegates reported that only in the Upper Huallaga, which is located a little more than 80 km from Lima [as published], there are 380,000 people directly and indirectly linked with the cocaine market. Those who attended the congress said that "50 percent of Bolivia's hard currency is derived from that trade."

"At this time, the Bolivian and Peruvian barons are producing cocaine in Brazil, which might help reduce consumption in our country," Lestelle said.

As part of this "south effect", drug traffickers enter the narcotics into our country through Salta and Jujuy and take them to Santiago del Estero and Tucuman, from where they take different routes to Europe. The drugs almost always end up in Spain.

According to the official, "during the trip south the drugs go through Cordoba, Rosario, and Buenos Aires, where they are shipped to Europe using Ezeiza International Airport or the metropolitan port.

"At each point the transporters pay local mules and carriers with drugs, which are quickly transformed into cash.

"The drugs also take other routes besides these usual ones. Sometimes they cross to Uruguay, by ship, from where they continue to Europe; and sometimes they go through Mendoza and into Chile, where they are shipped to a far away designation: Japan."

In any case, the Argentine cities with largest populations are the largest consumers. "The capital, greater Buenos Aires, Cordoba, Rosario, and Mendoza are considered critical points," Lestelle said.

The secretary then added: "The whole of greater Buenos Aires is included in what we call the red zone."

Secretariat sources said that the districts having the most complicated situations are Ramos Mejia, Vicente Lopez, San Isidro, Moron, San Justo, Moreno, Avellaneda, and Lanus.

The experts consider that "Argentina is probably in fourth place" on the list of drug traffickers' preferences for money laundering.

It is calculated that 50 percent of the 600 billion [currency not specified] that the drug trade moves must be laundered. If they do not whitewash it, it is as if they did not have the money.

Lestelle said: "They prefer countries where there is more consumption, mainly the United States, which consumes 60 percent of overall world production, and Europe."

Bolivia

Bolivians Not To Participate in Border Observers Team

PY1602135295 La Paz Radio Cadena Nacional Network in Spanish 1100 GMT 16 Feb 95

[Report by Jorge Jimenez]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bolivia hopes Ecuador and Peru will soon find a way to restore peace. This will be possible if the two parties sign the cease-fire agreement and allow a mission of international observers to go to the area in conflict. Jaime Aparicio, secretary for international relations of the Bolivian Foreign Ministry explained that Bolivia will not participate in this delegation.

[Begin recording] [Aparicio] We are unaware of any such... [changes thought] We understand that this whole thing is being handled within the framework of the Rio de Janeiro 1942 Protocol by the guarantor countries. Nothing has been done outside this framework so far. I understand that the experts who will visit the conflict area will also be appointed in keeping with the protocol. We really have no role to play outside the Rio Protocol.

[Jimenez] What can you tell us about the ending of the conflict?

[Aparicio] We believe that any cessation of hostilities is positive, and the sooner the parties arrive at a peaceful solution the better because this conflict hurts not only those two fraternal nations but the entire region as well. [end recording]

After 20 days of fighting over the Condor Mountain Range, the two nations agreed to cease-fire. This is the first sign of peace in the area.

Editorial Analyzes Armed Conflict Between Peru, Ecuador

PY1602011595 La Paz HOY in Spanish 9 Feb 95 p 5

[Editorial: "A Conflict That Harms the Hemisphere"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The undeclared war between Peru and Ecuador has undoubtedly harmed the ties of brotherhood among all Latin American countries, which had been expectantly longing to unite their peoples through integration endeavors that were being consolidated following an encouraging start.

Hostilities broke out on the border between the two sister nations precisely when preparations were under way for a meeting between Andean Pact and Mercosur [Common Market of the South] countries, which are trying to gain access to greater markets in order to jointly face the problem of unemployment, which is the major cause of the acute level of poverty prevalent in this area of the Americas. Any initiative to move ahead with the integration process has thus been put on a waiting list.

The reasons for this armed conflict, which is taking a heavy toll in human lives and financial resources in both Peru and Ecuador, have not yet been entirely clarified, however, according to reports from those close to Ecuadoran President Sixto Duran-Ballen, the Ecuadoran military are reportedly exerting pressure on their head of state to remain unyielding in his decision not to cease hostilities.

It is difficult to assess at present—without having many of the elements of judgment at one's disposal—the position of the Ecuadoran military, but we believe that threatening a democratically elected government with a military coup is a serious step backwards historically, as it would mean a return to a time that had already seemed forgotten in this part of the hemisphere.

Still, the most serious thing of all is that the military's threat to the Ecuadoran president would oblige him "to lose the war with Peru on the battlefield rather than at the negotiating table." This would mean that Duran-Ballen would rather stay in office than seek a lasting and permanent peace with his neighbor, something that is wished not only by the guarantor countries of the Rio de Janeiro Protocol, but also by all the nations in the Americas.

Government Minister on Fight Against Drug Trafficking

PY1602020495 La Paz PRESENCIA in Spanish 27 Jan 95 p 1

[FBIS Translated Text] Minister of Government Carlos Sanchez Berzain yesterday asked coca producers to make up their minds and decide whether they are for development or for drug trafficking.

"I would like to ask coca producers whether we want the same thing, whether we would like to have a country without drug trafficking, a country with development, and whether we want to improve our standard of living with greater dignity for our children," the minister said, during his speech closing a seminar on Chapare's agroindustrial development. Sanchez Berzain said that the Law on Special Regulations for Coca and Controlled Substances (1008) was the single most effective instrument in fighting drug trafficking gangs. The minister asked the international community not to suspend its economic and material assistance in order to eradicate the scourge.

"The Bolivian Government's instrument in fighting drug trafficking is the law, and the only law on the issue in our country is Law 1008, never mind if it is good or bad," the minister said.

Sanchez Berzain pointed out that at present, the main enemies of Bolivia's legal system are the international drug trafficking gangs with branches in Bolivia. The minister recalled the warning made by President Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada on that threat.

"The Bolivian state is against drug trafficking. Heading these gangs are people who directly or indirectly, or with sophisms or false figures and appearances, support drug trafficking," Sanchez Berzain said.

The minister urged coca producers to support government initiatives seeking a dialogue to reach a national consensus in order to be able to repress drug traffickers with greater success.

"The dialogue must the sincere, broad, and within the framework of the law. Results must be almost immediate, because we are, as was recognized by the president, behind in some tasks, and this has made our international assistance friends nervous. If we continue procrastinating we will hurt the country," the minister warned.

Coca producer leader Evo Morales warned that there are preoccupying contradictions in the government's antidrug policies, and that coca producers are in favor of a world without drugs.

Evo Morales said the government presents a hesitant image before the international community. "The first government proposal to fight drug trafficking was the Zero Option. Then we had the Master Plan, and now it is Law 1008," Morales said, referring to Minister Sanchez Berzain's remarks on the issue.

Editorial Views Effects of Mexican Economic Crisis

PY1602005695 Santa Cruz EL MUNDO in Spanish 1 Feb 95 p A5

[Editorial: "The Mexican Crisis"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Concerned about what might happen, Brazil, Argentina, Colombia, and Chile are getting ready to grant—in urgent manner—a $1 billion bridge loan to Mexico. It is an important sum, though in the opinion of Mexicans the loan is nothing more than a symbolic gesture made at the request of U.S. President Bill Clinton.

The point is to convince U.S. legislators that Latin America, as a group, supports in practice the $40 billion loan that Clinton asked Congress to approve to shore up the Mexican economy.

But the fact that four Latin American countries see the need to support Mexico shows the implications of the Mexican crisis. The U.S. debate prompted by Clinton's request, in turn, reveals that U.S. voters hesitate to make such a large contribution.

The problem is that if the line of credit is not approved, the Mexican crisis might affect other nations, which in turn might have repercussions on the U.S. economy. As a start, U.S. interests in Mexico would be hurt, while programs of change in the rest of Latin America might become paralyzed.

The political consequences of the Mexican crisis, on the other hand, could cast doubts on the advantage of having liberalized economies. It is said that we are in a new stage of the long economic crisis, and not simply before a circumstantial event. People on the street do not need to go to the depths of the matter to realize that something is wrong in the world economy. It is also worth noting that the crisis comes after the signing of NAFTA. Mexico's prospects are still not very clear. The contribution that various Latin American nations will make to Mexico, on the other hand, only confirms the crisis' international character.

From the Bolivian point of view, there are no reasons to feel reassured, and much less optimistic. Our problems do not have the dimensions of the problems affecting Mexico at this time, but the repercussions are quick to arrive, as is shown by the announced cut in U.S. aid.

It is appropriate to continue the reforms, perhaps with new policies, to confront the new situation. Considering the announced cuts in U.S. foreign aid, it is our responsibility to develop our own economy. If wheat donations will be cut, as has been said, it is time to encourage our own domestic production.

We should insist on our domestic economic development in view of the financial emergencies that are appearing at the Latin American level. Perhaps what the budget seeks with its emphasis on social programs is to face the challenge of broadening our own market. The most appropriate thing would be, however, to build roads and housing units, with local materials, without renouncing the challenges of the global economy.

Brazil

Minister: Concern Over Balance of Payments 'Overcome'

PY1602015395 Sao Paulo FOLHA DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 14 Feb 95 Section 2 p 9

[Report by Fideo Miya and Carlos Alberto Sardenberg]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Finance Minister Pedro Malan said yesterday in Sao Paulo that he considered concern over the Brazilian balance of payments to have been overcome. He said that the latest figures for February show that Brazil has already recovered the surplus in its international financial transactions.

What Malan did not say—but could be inferred from his remarks—is that the government does not deem it necessary to change its exchange policy; that is, that it does not intend to devalue the real, because it has managed to recover its surplus with the current exchange rate.

Malan reported that as of 10 February Brazilian exporters had concluded exchange contracts totaling $1.998 billion. As importers concluded contracts for $1.188 billion, there is a surplus of $810 million.

Also concerning the foreign currency balance, there was a $476 million deficit regarding the movement of capital through the entry or departure of investments, payments of interest, and royalties and other services.

The amount of outgoing capital totaled $1.249 billion, and that of incoming capital $773 million.

There has been a $334 million surplus in only 10 days in the overall balance of trade exchange and movement of capital. [passage omitted]

Cardoso To Have 3 Government Leaders in Congress

PY1502232095 Brasilia Voz do Brasil Network in Portuguese 2100 GMT 15 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] President Fernando Henrique Cardoso has reestablished the post of government leader in Congress, a post he held during the Sarney administration. This post will be held by Deputy Germano Rigotto from the PMDB [Brazilian Democratic Movement Party], Rio Grande do Sul. With this the government will have three leaders in the legislative branch.

The government leader in the Chamber of Deputies will continue to be Deputy Luis Carlos Santos from the PMDB-Sao Paulo, a post he had already held during the Itamar Franco administration. The name of the government leader in the Senate will be announced on 16 February.

Presidential Spokesman Sergio Amaral reported that President Fernando Henrique Cardoso decided to have three government leaders in the legislative branch given the importance he attributes to the national Congress.

[Begin Amaral recording] He justified this in attributing great importance to the post, mainly because Congress must examine and approve things that are very important for the government, such as provisional measures, the budget bill, and vetoes. But beyond this we still have the constitutional amendments, which will demand enormous work in Congress. [end recording]

President Cardoso will hold weekly meetings with the three government leaders in Congress. During the constitutional revision process each government leader will coordinate one constitutional amendment project proposed by the government.

Cardoso Inaugurates Partnership With Private Enterprise

PY1602014495 Sao Paulo FOLHA DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 14 Feb 95 p 9

[FBIS Translated Text] Brasilia—President Fernando Henrique Cardoso yesterday said, in promulgating the bill to franchise public services, that this act marks the moment when the government stops being an investor and becomes a regulator and controller of services. He said: "It is the end of the Getulio Vargas [twice Brazilian president 1983-1954] era and the beginning of a reinvention of government [reengenharia no gobierno]."

"The time has come to begin to separate the function of regulator and controller, which is the government's task, from the task of investment and competitiveness," he said.

According to the president, besides having lost investment capability, the government currently spends over $1 billion per year on public works projects that are behind schedule or paralyzed, in addition to the financial expenses and debts.

Cardoso believes that the time for creating public companies has ended. He said that the transformation of the country after the World War II had been a decided government action, with national savings being built through mechanisms of taxes and contributions.

"Nowadays this mechanism has become stalemated as a consequence of the lack of public savings," he said.

"The national economy is mature enough that partnerships with private enterprise can finance our development," said Cardoso.

For the president, the advantage of the new law lies in the power that the private companies will have to exploit public services, gaining a profit by charging fees.

The president said that he is dedicating a new stage in the administration: reinvention. The first step, according to him, was the promulgation of the law to franchise public services and the proposal to reorganize the electricity sector.

Cardoso said that he is marking the end of the Getulio Vargas administration, "which in its day made great progress, but must today be reformulated so that the government can attend to the needs of contemporary society."

Government, Union Leaders Talks Viewed

PY1502141195 Brasilia Radio Nacional da Amazonia Network in Portuguese 0900 GMT 15 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The latest seminar on government proposals for the constitutional reform has been held with labor union leaders in Brasilia. The president of the Republic attended part of the seminar and talked to union leaders. [passage omitted]

The seminar was held at the Superior Financial Administration School, ESAF, [Escola Superior de Administracao Fazendaria] and was attended by several ministers. President Fernando Henrique Cardoso lunched with the labor union leaders and explained government proposals for the constitutional reform, which he deems important to put the country on the road to economic stability and growth. Planning Minister Jose Serra said the government will gradually submit to Congress its proposals to facilitate their voting. [passage omitted]

Discussing the constitutional reform with workers' leaders, Cardoso said nothing can be changed by force. He said the changes must be debated among all Brazilians. The president asserted that the country is ready to take a bigger leap because its economy is expanding. He reasserted that the constitutional reform will be implemented for the benefit of the country and of the people.

[Begin Cardoso recording] These reforms seek to improve the country, to improve people's lives, to enable us to increase the real purchasing power of salaries, to increase the number of jobs, to increase investments, and to grant the benefits society needs. We seek positive things. We should not be defensive against reforms, we must protect ourselves against inertia, against demagoguery, against lack of courage to face problems. Brazil no longer accepts these things and we must protect ourselves against them. We need a vigorous country with firm leaders who base their actions on the conviction that the country is treading the required path. A few days ago I told entrepreneurs, and will repeat the same words here, that politics is not the art of what is possible; it is the art of making possible what is necessary. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Cardoso said that although there are some limitations in the constitutional reform proposals, he still supports them.

The union leaders who participated in the seminar on the government proposals for a constitutional reform were favorable to the proposals in general, except the part ending retirement based on seniority. [passage omitted]

Union Force President Luiz Antonio de Medeiros said the meeting was so positive that union leaders decided to suspend a strike they had already scheduled.

[Begin Medeiros recording] The important meaning of the meeting is that a broad channel for dialogue has been opened. To show our goodwill, we are suspending a strike by 100,000 people to defend the idea of retirement based on seniority. We have suspended this strike in name of dialogue, and on 17 February three ministers will begin holding talks with us. [end recording]

Sole Workers Center President Vicente Paulo da Silva, aka Vicentinho, said the government's decision to invite union leaders for talks, at the level of political parties, shows the government is intelligent and respects them.

Consequences of Malan's 'Shyness,' 'Unskillfulness' Noted

PY1502151895 Sao Paulo AGENCIA ESTADO in Portuguese 2248 GMT 14 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Brasilia, 14 Feb (AE)—Contrary to what everyone expected, Planning Minister Jose Serra's style has created less problems for the government than that of Finance Minister Pedro Malan. Malan is shy and does not like to talk. At the ministerial level, Serra is described as a state-of-the-art plane that needs only a few meters to take off, while Malan's insecurity affects his behavior.

The episode regarding the Sao Paulo State debt, which irritated Sao Paulo Governor Mario Covas, showed that Malan's unskillfulness may harm President Fernando Henrique Cardoso's image, particularly now that the government needs every help possible to ensure approval for its proposals for the constitutional reform. To demonstrate the difference between Cardoso and Malan, one adviser said: "While he was finance minister, when Cardoso said no, his interlocutor—although upset—left knowing why he had not obtained his goal."

Malan's style is the opposite of Serra's and he has not tried to change. To his friends, Malan attributes his difficulties to his shyness. Inside the government, however, the situation creates embarrassment. Presidential advisers say a certain level of publicity harms no one, particularly when the economic recovery program is being implemented and the inflation rate is low.

The task of explaining the economy figures has fallen more on the planning minister than on the man who commands the economy. As one minister said: "It is as if one player is missing in the team. There is a huge hole on the field." Malan's behavior has opened space for Senator Antonio Carlos Magalhaes (Liberal Front Party—Bahia State) to torpedo the government with criticism.

Malan's shyness and lack of tact become more evident in private talks. "During meetings he remains mute," one presidential adviser said when commenting on Malan's participation in meetings with Cardoso and other ministers of the economic area. During the discussion about the fiscal reform, for example, the planning minister disagreed with Malan and managed to get his way because his "copious flow" of arguments was not refuted by the finance minister. Serra prevailed with his idea that to withdraw the Service Tax (ISS) from the hands of the administrators of the country would result is disputes with the mayors.

Federal Police Change Strategy, Increase Drug Seizures

PY1602010695 Rio de Janeiro Rede Globo Television in Portuguese 2200 GMT 15 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Federal Police [PF] branch in Mato Grosso do Sul State has changed strategy and has markedly increased their seizure of drugs in the border areas. Early today PF personnel confiscated 61 kg of cocaine.

The warehouse at the Mato Grosso Do Sul PF branch is packed. Three tonnes of marijuana and nearly 2 tonnes of cocaine have been confiscated in the state in the past six months; that is, four times as much as the total amount of drugs confiscated in all of 1993.

The PF also confiscated two trucks, 20 cars, two airplanes, weapons, ammunition, and put the members of two drug rings behind bars. Adenicio Jose da Silva, a drug baron who had been hunted for 10 years, has been placed behind bars.

The increase in the amount of seizures is a result of a major change in patrolling procedures in the border area with Bolivia and Paraguay. PF agents who were serving in Mato Grosso do Sul have all been replaced by officers who had been serving in other states. In the past, a PF officer was allowed to stay for as long as 10 years in the same city. According to police sources, these officers ended up getting involved with the drug traffickers. A rotation system has now been implemented, and each officer is assigned to work for no more than one month in each precinct.

In Corumba alone, police sources admit that 90 percent of the officers were suspected of being involved with the drug traffickers. Today, through the new method of work, the pressure against traffickers have increased. Roadblocks are set up weekly on highways linking Brazil with Bolivia and Paraguay. The PF have promised to continue to relentlessly fight the drug trade.

Polls Analyze Support for Government

PY1502131595

[FBIS Editorial Report] Rio de Janeiro JORNAL DO BRASIL in Portuguese on 12 February carries on pages 3 and 4, several articles on recent polls held in 217 counties nationwide. The pollsters interviewed 3,100 people of all ages, sexes, and economic levels.

One 480-word unattributed article states that 76 percent of those interviewed still trust President Cardoso, 4 percent disapprove of his administration, and 10 percent have no definite opinion. This poll is compared with one conducted between 14 and 28 December. It shows support for Cardoso decreased by just 1 percent over this period. The article states that 11 percent of those who earn one minimum salary are "skeptical" about the administration's performance, and 19 percent of those who earn more than 10 minimum salaries share this skepticism. Answering questions on the first 30 days of the new administration, 72 percent view it positively and 19 percent view it negatively.

A 180-word article by Vox Populi Director Marcos Antonio Coimbra views popular support for the recently installed congress: 40 percent of those interviewed believe it will be "better" than the last, while just 7 percent believe it will be "worse."

A 240-word unattributed article states that even Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva's voters (53 percent) positively view prospects for Cardoso's administration, 35 percent are pessimistic about it, while 11 percent either refused to answer or have no definite opinion. The article adds that 78 percent of Senator Espiridiao Amin's voters trust Cardoso's performance, while 17 percent are pessimistic; 17 percent of those who supported presidential candidate Leonel Brizola expect this administration to do worse, while 65 percent are optimistic; 71 percent of those who supported Orestes Quercia—the Brazilian Democratic Movement Party presidential candidate—are optimistic, while 21 percent are pessimistic. The article states that 86 percent of those who voted for Cardoso are optimistic of his performance while just 7 percent have lost confidence in him.

A 1,200-word unattributed article analyzes other poll results: It indicates that 48 percent of those interviewed cite the dramatic situation of the Brazilian health services as their main concern; 29 percent are concerned with education; 9 percent with security; and 7 percent with state reorganization. The article adds that the lack of interest in political matters is clearly reflected in the 2 percent who are concerned over this issue. It adds that 53 percent of those interviewed deem solutions to the health area a priority. The article says the Vox Populi poll found that 67 percent of those interviewed reject the idea of financially helping Mexico, 22 percent approve the idea, and 11 percent did not want to comment. The poll found that 61 percent of those interviewed believe Brazil improved after the implementation of the Real Plan, while 12 percent are not happy about it. Some 48 percent believe their lives have improved with the Real Plan, 14 percent believe the situation is worse, and 37 percent believe it remained the same. The article clarifies that support for this idea becomes stronger as the standard of living of the interviewed people increases. The article adds that support for this idea changes depending on the region of the country. Regarding support for Cardoso's plan to open the economy to foreign products, 51 percent are in favor, 19 percent are against, and 21 percent believe it should remain as it is. Those who support the Real Plan, however, are still concerned over a possible inflation rate hike: 27 percent believe inflation will rise again in 12 months, 25 percent believe it will drop; and 10 percent did not comment. The article states that 52 percent of those interviewed believe Cardoso will implement the changes he announced while he was a presidential candidate, 31 percent believe he will not, and 17 people did not comment. These figures change depending on the economic level of those interviewed and the region they come from: 60 percent of those from the north and center-west regions believe Cardoso will fulfill his promises and 26 percent do not, although this number decreases in the south, where 46 percent believe the changes will be implemented and 34 percent believe they will not.

Chile

Paraguay's President Wasmosy Arrives on State Visit

PY1302225495 Santiago Television Nacional de Chile Imagen Internacional in Spanish 1700 GMT 13 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Paraguayan President Juan Carlos Wasmosy arrived at the Vina del Mar air and naval base at noon today. He is going to pay a three-day state visit to our country. Here we have a report from Juan Luis Contreras, our correspondent in Vina del Mar. Good afternoon, Juan Luis.

[Begin live relay] [Contreras] Good afternoon, Eduardo. Upon arriving in the Fifth Region, the Paraguayan head of state expressed his wish for Chile to join Mercosur [Common Market of the South] and for a cessation of the border conflict between Peru and Ecuador. Wasmosy and his entourage, which is comprised of ministers of state, will be engaged in public and private activities in Vina del Mar and Valparaiso.

Wasmosy began his three-day state visit to Vina del Mar at noon today. Upon his arrival at the Concon air and naval base, he was welcomed by Edmundo Perez Yoma, acting foreign minister and defense minister. At the terminal Wasmosy commented on the conflict between Peru and Ecuador, among other things. He said:

[Begin recording] [Wasmosy] We have maintained our neutral position, and have held talks not only with Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori and Ecuadoran President Sixto Duran-Ballen, but also with Uruguayan President Luis Alberto Lacalle, Chilean President Eduardo Frei, and the president of Bolivia. We are all very much concerned about this conflict. Let us hope we will find a solution as soon as possible so as to restore peace in our hemisphere.

[Unidentified reporter] Does that mean, Mr. President, that at one moment or another [passage indistinct].

[Wasmosy, interrupting] I beg your pardon? I am a great admirer of Chile, and I am eager for Chile to sign up for Mercosur. [end recording]

[Contreras] The Paraguayan president then went to the Cerro Castillo palace, where he was welcomed by President Frei. At this time, both heads of state are having a private luncheon. At 1730 they are scheduled to have their first working meeting during which they will analyze the possibility of Chile's joining Mercosur. Later, at 2030, both presidents are to attend a ceremony to exchange decorations. The first day of Wasmosy's official visit will conclude with a banquet in his honor. On 14 February, Presidents Wasmosy and Frei will sail from Valparaiso in the Kochan cruiser and go on a brief cruise. This is all the information we have from Cerro Castillo Palace in Vina del Mar. Good afternoon. [end relay]

[Announcer] Thank you, Juan Luis, and good afternoon.

Presidents Exchange Medals, Discuss Trade

PY1502022595 Asuncion ULTIMA HORA in Spanish 14 Feb 95 p 8

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Valparaiso and Vina del Mar, Chile—Paraguayan President Juan Carlos Wasmosy and Chilean President Eduardo Frei tonight stressed need for the American peoples to consolidate their democracy, fully guarantee free trade, fight poverty, and increase the opening up of their economies in order to slow down the deterioration of their peoples' social situation. These remarks were made during a ceremony to exchange decorations at the Cerro Castillo presidential palace, on the Pacific Ocean.

"The eradication of poverty is necessarily linked to economic growth, which creates jobs and increases everyone's standard of living. This is why we want to increase the opening up of our economies and develop our international trade as much as possible, within the framework of an open regionalism that will permit a strengthening of our links with other Latin American countries," Frei said. Wasmosy, in turn, said: "Problems afflicting countries in the region have never before been so common. Perhaps never before has the need to preserve freedom, consolidate democracy, guarantee free trade, and obtain appropriate economic growth rates been so obvious."

Both heads of state decorated each other with the medal "Order of Merit" granted by their respective governments to each other, which consolidated the existing friendship between the two nations.

After yesterday's speeches, it was clear that Chile's incorporation into Mercosur [Common Market of the South] is practically a fact, although officials must still discuss the conditions to implement this wish, greatly emphasized by Chilean Government officials and entrepreneurs.

Frei was clear and categorical in this respect: "We do not want to neglect other large markets such as the North American, the European, or the Asian markets, but we are interested in an association with Mercosur."

President Juan Carlos Wasmosy asked his Chilean counterpart Eduardo Frei to eliminate the obstacles against our exports to the Chilean market. Despite repeated protests, Chile maintains a ceiling limiting Paraguayan meat, leather, vegetable oil, cotton, and soybean pellet exports to the Chilean market.

Last August a Paraguayan delegation presided over by Ambassador Antonio Felix Lopez, Foreign Ministry vice minister for international economic affairs, demanded the increase or elimination of the quotas limiting Paraguayan exports of the products mentioned above. [passage omitted]

Frei listened to his Paraguayan counterpart and expressed his willingness to seek an increased opening up of the Chilean market to Paraguayan exports. [passage omitted]

Our export quota includes 1,000 tonnes of meat, 5,000 tonnes of vegetable oils, 15,000 tonnes of soybean pellets, and 1 million dollars in leather. [passage omitted]

Foreign Ministry Downplays Bolivian Peasants' Border Claim

PY1602150995 Madrid EFE in Spanish 2325 GMT 15 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Santiago, 15 Feb (EFE)—The Chilean Foreign Relations Ministry has downplayed a complaint lodged by several Bolivian peasants about the improper location of border markers in a faraway part of the Andean Mountain Range called San Pablo de Napa.

Foreign Ministry spokesman Jose Tomas Letelier said the border in that area was agreed upon in 1992. The two parties then agreed to place the so-called "density markers" [hitos de densidad] along the wet areas, which means they can hardly be in a straight line.

Letelier explained that the fact that the landmarks are not in a straight line could have prompted the local peasants to claim that they have lost approximately 3,000 square meters. He added that Bolivia has already sent a field mission to verify the claim.

Colombia

FARC Ambush in San Jose del Guaviare Leaves 5 Dead

PA1502153195 Santa Fe de Bogota Inravision Television Canal A Network in Spanish 0000 GMT 14 Feb 95

[From the "Seven O'Clock Newscast"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Five soldiers were killed and one is missing as a result of a FARC [Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia] ambush on a Marine Infantry unit in San Jose del Guaviare. The ambushed soldiers were patrolling the area in an Army boat between Puerto Colombia and El Barrancon in El Guaviare when they were attacked by the FARC's 44th Front. Captain Jorge Luis Sotomayor Galviz, noncommissioned officers Javier Marin Quintero, Marcelino Valero Torres, and Juan Manuel Sierra, and volunteer soldier Jose Manuel Valante were killed in the ambush. Another volunteer soldier identified as Luis Alberto Suarez Sanchez is missing.

Seventh Brigade Commander Carlos Leongomez had this to say:

[Begin Leongomez recording] Two of the troops on the boat were stricken with malaria. At any rate, neither the brigade commander nor the battalion commander, with whom I have just spoken, could justify the situation. It takes one hour on foot to march from El Barrancon to San Jose del Guaviare. We should have staged a tactical march instead of an administrative march. This was precisely the troops' mistake. [end recording]

In addition to the deaths of soldiers from the Heroes of Arauca Battalion and the Marine Infantry, the following weapons were reported lost: three Galil rifles, two guns, seven hand and rifle grenades, ammunition, and two communications radios.

$6.5 Billion in Social Spending for Caqueta

95CA0113A Santa Fe de Bogota EL TIEMPO in Spanish 2 Feb 95 p 7A

[Article by special correspondent Bibiana Mercado]

[FBIS Translated Text] Florencia—A total of 70,000 Caqueta residents living in a state of poverty will receive priority attention from the State, through an appropriation of 6.577 billion pesos, budgeted for 1995.

The funds will be channeled through the Social Solidarity Network, inaugurated in this city yesterday by the program's departmental board. This is a system for concerted community action to determine the priorities in the social investment area.

As was announced by the Network's manager, Eduardo Diaz Uribe, of the total budget appropriation, 3.192 billion pesos have already been assured, and will be directed toward employment and housing programs in particular.

The total amount for this year will be distributed as follows: urban employment, 756 million pesos; rural employment, 672 million; housing subsidy and improvement, 3.64 billion; mother and infant care, 444 million; food bonus, 291 million; rural pre-school and school bonus, 27 million; assistance to female heads of household, 59 million; recreation, 51 million; and programs for the aged, 634 million pesos.

One of the main topics at the meeting, which was attended by national, departmental, and local authorities, was the eradication of illicit crops.

Fernando Sarmiento, a settler who attended the forum, representing the El Caguan community, a region especially sensitive to this issue, said that the farm workers have made a commitment not to grow a single coca plant if the government provides a solution for legalizing land: the main obstacle to their acquiring bank credit.

The region's peasants emphasized the need for the Florencia-Suasa highway, feeder roads, assurance for the marketing of substitute products, and technical training for farm workers.

The director of the Alternative Development Plan, Hector Moreno, for his part, claimed that the government lacks a clear view of the situation.

He commented: "It is not a matter of replacing illicit crops with licit ones that would offer the same profitability. It is not a matter of competing, but rather of translating the substitution into moral and economic well-being for the community."

In this area, cultivating a hectare of coca generates income totaling 1.2 million pesos for the farm worker. Each hectare produces approximately 2 kg of coca.

A hectare planted with corn yields nearly 20 loads, each at the rate of 20,000 pesos.

The government and the peasants agree that a product must be sought that will bring at least half the income produced by the coca crop, like rubber, for example.

And, in this case, the government would have to offer short-term economic alternatives, because it takes 10 years to produce rubber.

Ecuador

Government Accepts Guarantors' Peace Proposal

PA1602123495 Quito Voz de los Andes in Spanish 1200 GMT 16 Feb 95

[From "The Voz Andes Newscast"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Ecuador has accepted the peace proposal presented by the Rio de Janeiro Protocol guarantor countries. This acceptance clearly shows Ecuador's peaceful stance, a diplomatic source said.

Meanwhile, Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori has requested more time to study the proposal and answer within five days.

Proposal To Protect Civilians in Conflict Area Sent to Peru

PA1602003295 Quito Voz de los Andes in Spanish 2300 GMT 15 Feb 95

[From "The Voz Andes Newscast"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Ecuador has sent to the Peruvian Embassy in Quito a proposal on humanitarian measures to protect the civilian population in the conflict zone. Ecuadoran Social Welfare Minister Alberto Cardenas has said that so far, there has been no reply to the initiative presented to Vicente Rojas, minister-counsellor of the Peruvian Embassy in Ecuador.

The decision to send the proposal was made after Peru did not respond to Ecuador's request to protect the civilians who might be harmed by bombings in the conflict zone.

Large Demonstration of Support Staged Outside Presidency

PA1602003395 Quito Voz de los Andes in Spanish 2300 GMT 15 Feb 95

[From "The Voz Andes Newscast"]

[FBIS Translated Text] More than 5,000 people gathered in front of the Ecuadoran Presidency in one of the biggest demonstrations of support for their country since the beginning of the armed conflict between Ecuador and Peru on 26 January.

Sixto for sure, "Give It to the Chinese Fujimori Hard," the demonstrators chanted, even though the Peruvian and Ecuadoran Armies have been observing a cease-fire on the border between the two countries for the past 24 hours.

The demonstration was called by the Quito public markets, and unlike the small demonstrations in recent days, this one filled Independence Square, where the Presidency is located.

Defense Minister Urges Observers To Come

PA1502182795 Quito Voz de los Andes in Spanish 1729 GMT 15 Feb 95

[News conference by Defense Minister General Jose Gallardo with unidentified reporters from the Presidency in Quito; broadcast in progress—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Gallardo] ...and the guarantors of the Rio de Janeiro Protocol made a proposal that was initially accepted by Ecuador that mentioned a cease-fire and, at the same time, the immediate presence of observers from guarantor countries to verify that the cease-fire would be absolutely effective and that no further actions, movements, military activities would take place in the zone [10-second break in transmission] of the guarantors unilaterally declared the cease-fire as of 1200 yesterday, 14 February. Ecuador, which has not extended the war to Peruvian territory, has accepted this cease-fire. Since 1200 yesterday, Ecuador has not conducted any military activity. In reality, too, Peruvian forces have not fired, but they have been moving in the area and brought troops closer in, evidently trying to benefit from this cease-fire and improve their positions.

I categorically and emphatically reject Peru's accusation made at 1500 yesterday. It said that our forces had fired our weapons after 1200. This is a complete falsehood. Journalists who entered the area yesterday have verified this.

We are strictly observing the cease-fire and ask that observers from the guarantor countries come to the area—today if possible—to prevent any country from using the cease-fire to its advantage. If not, we would have to think that the cease-fire was only a ploy to make gains. We ask that the observers come immediately to the sector to verify the situation.

Regarding possession of the detachments and positions at Cueva de los Tayos, Tihuinza, and Base Sur, which Ecuadoran forces have never lost, by using the GPS [global positioning system], an instrument that can give us precise positions, yesterday we proved that Tihuinza is at exactly the coordinates that the Ecuadoran Government furnished to the guarantor countries many days ago. Therefore, there is no room for lies. There are also certain crops in Tihuinza that cannot just grow overnight, and their existence can be verified. That is why we want observers to verify our positions.

Since the very beginning, we have spoken nothing but the truth about casualties, location, and position of the detachments. At no time are we going to change that noble and clean policy of telling the truth. We, the peoples of Ecuador and the world, are telling the truth and ask that it be verified immediately. This is not the case with reports coming from Peru, that are sometimes issued by the authorities, who have said several times they had conquered said detachments. Our position has not changed.

Yesterday it was impossible to get all journalists into a single helicopter in a high-risk area. That is why they were told they would be taken to the area two or three at a time. We are not going to act irresponsibly by allowing a helicopter filled with reporters to fly into such a dangerous area and risk being shot down, killing a large number of domestic and foreign reporters. Ecuador would then be accused of being an irresponsible country, and our Armed Forces would be accused of committing such an action. But, gentlemen, we are inviting you because we want to continue taking you there, while taking all the basic precautions demanded by the risky situation. This is what we can tell you. We have ordered that domestic and foreign journalists be allowed to return to Patuca, but in a prudent manner. This is what I can tell you.

[Station announcer] This is the news conference by Defense Minister Gallardo from the Presidency. He is now answering questions from reporters who are here.

[Reporter] [Words indistinct]

[Gallardo] The Ecuadoran Government, through diplomatic channels, has requested the immediate presence of observers. Unfortunately, a document issued by the observers yesterday said that conditions must be safe for the guarantors to arrive. Yesterday Peru falsely reported that Ecuador opened fire in the afternoon. Peru is trying to create inadequate conditions to prevent the immediate arrival of observers. We ask friendly countries to take some risks. They must arrive at the site, where they will confirm the positions occupied by our forces, and they will see that our forces are not firing.

[Reporter] With all due respect, I have two questions: Could reports concerning the mobilization of Peruvian forces from other areas, including the Chilean border, be seen as a possible offensive or as a dissuasive factor to pressure Ecuador into signing what Peru wants? On the other hand, regarding the contents of the documents being negotiated in Brazil, how much have the negotiations advanced and how should the public understand the terms mobilization and demilitarization, which apparently have been given different interpretations, especially by Peru. In any event, what is the correct term? Mobilization? Demilitarization? What is the difference?

[Gallardo] First I will say that Peru has mobilized forces, including those at the Chilean border. It has mobilized and deployed those troops to our southern border. This is obviously a form of pressure. I must, however, tell the Ecuadoran people that the Ecuadoran Armed Forces have responsibly taken the necessary measures to prevent an invasion of our territory. In no way will we attack Peru. The alleged fork plan is ridiculous. Who would believe that a country with our armed forces, which are known to everyone, would think of provoking a war by invading Peru? We are prepared to defend ourselves, based on the knowledge we have of our territory and the efforts we have made to protect it. That was my answer to your first question. Would you please be more specific about the other questions? I believe you had three questions.

[Reporter] Basically, my question was how far have the negotiations advanced on aspects concerning demobilization and demilitarization? I am under the impression that since the negotiations began in Brazil, there has been little progress, or that those aspects have been cleverly handled by Peru.

[Gallardo] I believe the guarantor countries are making an effort to reach a consensus between the positions of the countries. They are trying to demobilize or withdraw troops the two countries have taken from the interior of their territories to the borders. If implemented in an honest manner and under the thorough control and verification of the observers, this action would obviously constitute an excellent measure.

The demilitarization will be undertaken in the combat area to separate troops. We believe the area where recent fighting has been taking place, in Alto Cenepa, must be demilitarized under the control and verification of the observers. We do not believe detachments positioned in the areas of Etza, Teniente Ortiz, and Soldado Monge should be withdrawn. The detachment at Soldado Monge, for instance, has been there since 1938 while the others have been there for a long time. These detachments were attacked by the Peruvian forces and our defensive organization depends on them. We believe the forces that attacked those detachments should withdraw to their peacetime posts. That is Ecuador's position.

[Moderator] Here is Mrs. Sanmartin, [word indistinct] television.

[Sanmartin] Gen. Gallardo, the cease-fire has been in effect for 24 hours. Have there been any chance clashes with the Peruvian troops that entered the territory? During a news conference last Saturday, it was said that Peru has used toxic gas on the Ecuadoran Army. My second question is: Has there been any investigation to this effect and is there an answer to this?

[Gallardo] The Ecuadoran Armed Forces have not provided a faithful report on this allegation. It was published as a commentary by a military man. We cannot—I reiterate—make a statement about something that has not been thoroughly confirmed. We have asked for specific information. So far, we have not received definite confirmation. To verify this, this incident had to happen in several places and the information had to be consistent.

As for your second question, no clashes or fire attacks have taken place since yesterday, but we are very concerned because we know Peruvian troops are mobilizing within the area. In recent days, our troops were partly maintaining their positions and were partly fighting to withdraw Peruvian troops that had entered our territory. This is what they [word indistinct].

[Moderator] Here is Eduardo Gonzalez, Telesistema.

[Gonzalez] International reports from Peru inform today that Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori will also travel to the alleged Tihuinza. How did the Peruvian troops infiltrate that area if they were in Cueva de los Tayos and Base Sur before? How did those Peruvian troops get in and what will you do to repel them once and for all?

[Gallardo] That area is approximately 300 square kilometers and is filled with trees. Because of the conditions of the territory, no one can, from any one point, control events taking place 15 or 20 meters away. Therefore, if we sought to cordon off the entire area with a barricade, we would have to deploy a large number of men to all the weak points. Isn't this true? They would have to be lined up.

This is why it is understandable that there were infiltrations, but we have held all our positions. That is my first point. Second, we have been repulsing all these infiltrations. It is obviously not credible when a Peruvian authority claims to have reached a place and hoisted the flag, all without impartial international confirmation. They could establish a Tihuinza in any part of the immense Peruvian jungle.

[Moderator] Mr. Minister, the next question is from Ana Lucia Andrade, of EL MERCURIO [words indistinct].

[Andrade] The coordinates that were established yesterday [words indistinct]. Also, what is the government doing to expedite the observers' (?arrival)?

[Gallardo] I repeat we used an high-precision instrument called a GPS to verify that the coordinates for Tihuinza are the same as those of the actual Tihuinza where our forces are stationed and where there are crops that do not grow overnight, and where there are vestiges that prove a long Ecuadoran presence. Our government, through diplomatic channels, is requesting the immediate presence of the observers.

[Moderator] Engineer Carlos Troya of [words indistinct].

[Troya] Mr. Minister, I have two questions. The first refers to a report from Peru that the Tihuinza Ecuador talks about is a false Tihuinza that is near the Santiago River, because the Tihuinza, which we once held and is near the Cenepa River, is now in their hands. That is my first question. And the second question is: Will the new Tihuinza, the one according to the coordinates we have, allow Ecuador to have some influence or sovereign control over the Cenepa River?

[Gallardo] The Tihuinza where Ecuadoran soldiers are stationed is along the shores of the Tihuinza River. Peruvian forces have never been there. You must have heard about an Indian who in the most innocent way said: My parents lived next to Cuevas de los Tayos, which is farther south than Tihuinza; it is about 5 km south of Tihuinza. And our surname is Tihues or Tihuis. Inza means water. The Tihuinza River is a name derived from our surname Tihuis. And we and all our neighbors are Ecuadoran citizens. The Indian said this [words indistinct] local Indians. Moreover, he said he has never met any Peruvian Indians in that area.

[Unidentified reporter] Are we controlling the Cenepa River area? Based on the Tihuinza we hold, based on the coordinates that were established, are we controlling the Cenepa River zone?

[Gallardo] You just said it: We Ecuadorans, sir, are controlling the area of the Tihuinza River. We are fighting infiltration, or rather, we had fought Peruvian infiltration until 1200 yesterday.

Television Stations Broadcast Reports From Tihuinza

PA1502183995 Hamburg DPA in Spanish 1629 GMT 15 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Quito, 15 Feb (DPA)—Ecuadoran television stations, all of which are privately owned, today broadcast extended transmissions from the military base of Tihuinza, which has become a symbol of the recent undeclared war between Peru and Ecuador and of which both countries claim control.

The morning newscasts on each of the five networks broadcast wide-ranging reportage and interviews from the base, which is located at 3 degrees 27 minutes 57 seconds south and around which the fiercest fighting in the 20-day-old conflict has raged.

The base, located in a hard-to-access area, is on top of a steep hill. It is surrounded by dense vegetation. Its area is 100 by 60 meters, part of which is a banana plantation whose production feeds the soldiers. According to journalists' accounts, the place is very humid. Temperatures range from 28 to 33 degrees centigrade. It is filled with mosquitoes because it is so close to the swamp.

Ecuadoran soldiers in this detachment, which has been partially destroyed by the bombings, told domestic and foreign journalists to relay their request that international observers travel "quickly" to the front line to confirm the position of each of the belligerent forces and to supervise compliance with the cease-fire.

Lieutenant Colonel Luis Hernandez, chief of the base, reported that Ecuadoran forces remain on "maximum alert" in light of the possibility of new attacks, because, according to him, "Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori said they have seized bases to which they have not even come close." But he affirmed that "it is likely they will set up a Tihuinza-2 in a jungle clearing so they have something to show off, because they are trying to infiltrate just 3 km from here."

Since 1700 GMT on Tuesday, when hostilities officially ceased, dozens of journalists have visited the six Ecuadoran military bases in the disputed area that, according to Quito, resisted the ground and air siege for nearly three weeks. According to Lima, all bases are within its territory and were "rid of invaders" before the cease-fire that is now fully in force began, although it has been pocked with sporadic skirmishes. "For security reasons," the press has not been taken to the line of fire on the Peruvian side "due to security concerns."

Armed Forces Report 'No Incidents' in Conflict Area

PA1602044995 Quito Voz de los Andes in Spanish 0300 GMT 16 Feb 95

[Information Bulletin No. 30 from the Ecuadoran Armed Forces Joint Command; date not given; from "The Voz Andes Newscast"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Ecuadoran Armed Forces Joint Command has issued Official Information Bulletin No. 30 to report to the country.

1. Today there have been no incidents in the conflict area in compliance with the cease-fire that has been in effect since 1200 hours on Tuesday, 14 March. The Ecuadoran Armed Forces are offering the necessary security conditions so that the guarantor countries cna send observers to the area and verify the positions of our forces at the military detachments of Tihuinza, Coangos, Cueva de los Tayos, and Base Sur.

2. Logistic flights to the conflict zone were renewed early in the morning, and national and foreign journalists who responded to an invitation issued in that regard yesterday by the national government and who want to report from our military detachments the unquestionable position of our forces in the Cenepa Valley, were taken to the area.

3. The Armed Forces Joint Command is concerned by a failure to sign documents endorsed by the guarantor countries to permit the implementation of the peace process.

4. The Armed Forces, in complying with their obligations, remain alert throughout the national territory, air space, and territorial sea.

Two Peruvian Fighter Planes Violate Airspace, Turned Back

PA1502235695 Quito Voz de los Andes in Spanish 2300 GMT 15 Feb 95

[From "The Voz Andes Newscast"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Two Peruvian fighter planes today violated Ecuador's airspace and were turned back by airplanes of the Ecuadoran Air Force, a high-ranking officer said.

Carlos Granja, commander of the rearguard forces, said that two Peruvian Sukhoi airplanes entered 30 miles inside Ecuadoran territory, overflying the headwaters of the Cenepa River for several minutes. The two planes, similar to the ones that were downed by Ecuadoran anti-aircraft fire on Friday, were turned back by Ecuadoran Air Force Mirage planes. The commander said that the air bases near the conflict zone were placed on alert once the Peruvian planes were detected.

Foreign Ministry Denies Using Children To Plant Mines

PA1602052495 Quito Voz de los Andes in Spanish 0300 GMT 16 Feb 95

[From "The Voz Andes Newscast"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Ecuadoran Foreign Ministry today rejected reports by some Peruvian media that indicated that children are being used to plant mines in the border zone.

A communique of the Ecuadoran Foreign Ministry described as slanderous and irresponsible the Peruvian media reports claiming that Ecuador is using five-year-olds and six-year-olds to plant mines to prevent the passage of Peruvians into Huaquillas. The communique added that if it were not for its ill-intent, this assertion could be termed as naive because it would be impossible for such young children to carry out actions that require prior training.

It also reiterated that Ecuador fully respects the Geneva convention's prohibition of the use of the civilian population in military actions.

Minister: Conflict Area Contains Uranium, Gold

PA1602023495 Quito Voz de los Andes in Spanish 2300 GMT 15 Feb 95

[From "The Voz Andes Newscast"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Ecuador has said that in the border area whose sovereignty is in dispute with Peru, there are deposits of minerals and possibly of petroleum, and it suggested that this motivates its neighbor to seek control of the area. Energy and Mines Minister Galo Abril said there are mineral deposits, mainly gold and uranium, and possibly petroleum, in the area attacked by Peru, which explains Peru's aggression.

Abril, who spoke to journalists at the Government Palace, did not provide further details. The Condor mountain range, located in Morona-Santiago Province, on the border with Peru, is the zone where Peruvian and Ecuadoran forces have clashed since the end of January.

Historical, Geographical Realities Observed

95SM0175B (INTERNET) FOREIGN MINISTRY GOPHER in Spanish 3 Feb 95 pp 1-3]

[Commentary by Henry Raad from Guayaquil EL TELEGRAFO 26 Jan 95 p 4-A]

[FBIS Translated Text] A knowledge of our geography and of our history is the basis of our national identity. Regrettably, Ecuador bears a name that was picked at random, corresponded to an imaginary border, and was linked to a scientific event in which we did not participate. Our flag, our currency, and our first president were Venezuelan. Ecuador was actually a military event, in that Bolivar was unable to overcome the ambition of the Colombian and Venezuelan generals. That was the beginning of the history of the boundary to the south, where unfortunately a nation was born that was educated in the concept of a vice-regency. This concept had served to reinforce Peru's Inca-conqueror roots and was perhaps the source of the Peruvian militarism that has done so much harm to the Peruvians themselves and to those countries whose misfortune it has been to have them as their neighbors.

It is essential that we adopt a rational attitude toward the military situation on the border—a situation that has brought us so many problems and so much insecurity. It is a definite and objective fact that the Peruvian Foreign Ministry—which consists of civilians—is unable to resist the pressures that the military impose on all Peruvian governments. The Peruvian military are a very privileged caste whose intentions in respect to territory are clear and can be summed up in one word: Pachacutec. This is merely one chapter, however, and it will not be the last one in this century. When Alberto Fujimori showed himself willing to turn the page, he had to retreat from his advanced concepts as soon as the military brought pressure to bear.

Peace, unfortunately, does not depend on only one of the parties. The invasion of 1941 was the result of the pro-Nazi tendencies that our government was demonstrating and that were very effectively exploited by the Peruvian military, who captured almost three-fourths of the eastern petroleum-producing region while the Americans occupied and established military bases in Salinas and the Galapagos—with the aim of defending the Panama Canal—immediately after Pearl Harbor opened the Pacific front. Until that time, our military had been more involved in internal political problems and had not prepared themselves to defend our borders. Beginning in 1941, Ecuador began to develop an awareness with respect to Peru, whose acts of usurpation served to strengthen our nationalism. The differences that have arisen between the defense minister and former President Leon Febres Cordero have at no time endangered our territorial security and in fact were beneficial, if we understand that secrecy does not help us to approach the problem in a rational manner.

The foreign ministry prefers a policy of secrecy, which is very characteristic of this sort of diplomatic environment in which intrigues feed individual egos. The military also believe that everything should be kept secret, although it is laughable the way documents regarded as secret are passed around. The famous secret document that caused the political incident seemingly refers exclusively to the date on which it was determined logistically that Pachacutec was situated on Ecuadoran territory—something that could have collateral effects, given the high degree of political protagonism that [Defense] Minister Gallardo displays to the press. Moreover, it is to be presumed that Pachacutec caused the immediate and surprising reaction on the part of Rodrigo Borja, who attended an international forum to reinforce the diplomatic action by proposing papal arbitration instead of recourse to military action. Because of the excessive secrecy, Rodrigo Borja's activities were called into question by some sectors of public opinion, while *la quitena* staged roving street demonstrations of sympathy for Alberto Fujimori and even for his wayward wife Susana.

Peruvian militarism will not be pacified on the battlefield. We shall be able to defeat it to the extent that the Peruvian people themselves become aware of the harm that this classist attitude is doing to them in their own country. In order for the debate to be moved into that arena, the prevailing secrecy must be broken and there must be direct and straightforward discussion of the continuing events on the border—events that should neither alarm nor frighten us.

Just as we live in an area that is subject to earthquakes, we have the misfortune to live next door to a Peruvian military caste that exploits these incidents in order to justify its own existence and its excessive budgets. Let us not be afraid. Let us not imitate them, nor conceal the truth about events, nor declare war, nor fall into the trap of resorting to military measures. Let us attack Peruvian public opinion, which could ultimately become our strongest ally when the situation is rationalized. Let us take advantage of our smaller size and our pacifism. In reporting the situation, let us be neither Puritans nor irrational superpatriots.

Paraguay

Wasmosy Returns From Chile, Comments on Visit

PY1502141295 Asuncion ABC COLOR in Spanish 15 Feb 95 p 5

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Upon his return last night from Chile, President Juan Carlos Wasmosy announced that the Chilean Government offered the cooperation of the Chilean Armed Forces with the Paraguayan Army, Navy, and Air Force. He said Chilean President Eduardo Frei would pay an official visit to Paraguay in June or July. Wasmosy is scheduled to leave for Rome today.

After paying an official two-day visit to the Republic of Chile, President Wasmosy returned to our country. He said he received an offer for Chilean military cooperation. The president did not elaborate on this issue. He merely mentioned that Chile is among the countries with the most sophisticated military technology in the world. The Paraguayan president enthused over a Chilean ship, aboard which he lunched with his Chilean counterpart yesterday. Wasmosy emphasized that this ship has "extraordinary equipment" and "is among the most sophisticated in coastal defense in the world."

The president described as "very positive" his visit and reported that, as a demonstration of the understanding between the two countries, President Eduardo Frei would visit Paraguay in June or July.

Wasmosy noted that Chile wants to initially join the Mercosur [Common Market of the South] through a free trade zone and then through a customs union. [passage omitted]

Peru

Fujimori Interviewed at Border Area

PY1502223295 Lima Radio Programas del Peru Network in Spanish 2056 GMT 15 Feb 95

[Live telephone relay by Carlos Alvarado Chavez, including an interview with President Alberto Fujimori, from an unspecified location on the Cenepa River near the border with Ecuador]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Alvarado] We are here by the Cenepa River with President Alberto Fujimori, after a flight of over three hours and a walk of about 2 kilometers from PV1 [Watch Post No. One]. President Fujimori has returned to this zone again to have direct contact with the soldiers who heroically defended Peruvian soil and sovereignty. Mr. President, how do you find the spirit of the Peruvian soldiers?

[Fujimori] I find them with high morale and with the satisfaction of victory, having taken Cueva de los Tayos, the so-called Base Sur, and the so-called Tihuinza. I saw some patrols return from these places of rough terrain, and they are all satisfied with having fulfilled their patriotic mission.

[Alvarado] When we arrived at PV1 we saw traces of mortar fire on the ground. Does this mean that Ecuador is not complying with what is called the cease-fire since you ordered it unilaterally?

[Fujimori] Ecuador implemented the cease-fire as of 1600 [2100 GMT]. There was bombing until 1545 [2045 GMT] on PV1 from an airplane flying at high altitude. You saw the holes in the ground, but apparently the cease-fire is now being respected by Ecuador. But this does not mean there will not be any snipers—on both sides probably—who have not yet learned about the cease-fire.

[Alvarado] After the final cease-fire that is apparently prevailing, what is the next step, and what is the Peruvian position in face of this situation?

[Fujimori] Look, we achieved our primary objective, that is, the eviction of organized Ecuadoran troops from the three known posts, the last of which is known as Tihuinza, and there is absolutely no doubt that Peruvian troops are there. This military objective of evicting them from these positions has been accomplished. The second objective is to deal with the pending issue of demarcation, in accordance with the Rio de Janeiro Protocol. Naturally, before this is accomplished, there must be a total withdrawal of Ecuadoran troops to their original posts. The withdrawal is being dealt with in Brasilia, so that it is done peacefully. Naturally, it should be noted that there was a second diplomatic success in this case, because the Republic of Ecuador has acknowledged that the Rio de Janeiro Protocol is in force, and Clause 4 of the arbitration of Dias de Aguiar [Rio Protocol arbitrator] is in this case unquestionable.

[Alvarado] Mr. President, you received a document early this morning that is allegedly a pre-agreement, an agreement between the deputy foreign ministers, who are advocating respect for the Rio de Janeiro Protocol. Do you have any comment on this issue?

[Fujimori] This is a proposal that apparently joins together the positions of Ecuador and Peru. They tried to harmonize them in order to satisfy the two parties, but naturally a proposal of this nature requires a very detailed and profound analysis, as we did on the previous occasion. You can remember that it took five days. This time it will probably take less time, but in any case I hope to return tomorrow and then have the opportunity to look at it carefully.

[Alvarado] Mr. President, what aspects do you think need to be adjusted, or analyzed further, in that preliminary agreement?

[Fujimori] The proposal, the Brazilian Foreign Ministry's peace proposal declaration, includes three basic concepts. The first is a total cease-fire with the necessary security measures in place to make possible the visit of observers from guarantor countries. We have taken some risks in coming here. There might still be snipers around. The second concept refers to the separation of forces. This concept supposes the withdrawal of any troops that might still be here from the entire territory. The third concept is the demilitarization of a certain zone, an equitable demilitarization affecting both sides, in order to prevent confrontations.

[Alvarado] Lastly, Mr. President, do you think this meeting of diplomatic representatives from the Rio de Janeiro Protocol guarantor countries will find a way to definitively mark the 78 km that are still not marked on our border with Ecuador?

[Fujimori] This is the most important event in the past 45 years. Ecuador sat at the negotiating table, and guarantor country representatives have assumed their full responsibility in promoting these kinds of meetings. We expect the Rio de Janeiro Protocol to be fully implemented within the next few months. This means that we will definitively mark the border line already established through the high peaks of the Condor Mountain Range. You can see from this zone that there is a natural geographical border, there is a line of peaks, and those peaks define the separation of waters. This separation of waters is the borderline established by arbiter Braz Dias de Aguiar. Therefore, we have important work to do here.

[Alvarado] There is a report on the arrival of commando groups at PV1. What can you tell us about them?

[Fujimori] In effect, we encountered various commando groups who were just arriving at PV1. I recognized a former presidential security agent, a major, in one of these groups. He participated in a commando operation in Peruvian territory, in the area infiltrated by the Ecuadoreans. There was a confrontation there. We suffered one casualty; one noncommissioned officer was killed. The incident occurred a couple of days ago. They were operating in the jungle and they are just arriving back. The adversary had 20 casualties; 20 of them were killed.

[Alvarado] Thank you very much. Those were declarations made by President Alberto Fujimori here on the banks of the Cenepa River. The head of state has come here in the company of Army Commander General Nicolas de Bari Hermosa Rios, the Armed Forces Joint Command chief. Two Mirage planes were escorting the presidential plane; we could see this when the presidential plane was landing. Later we drove from the El Valor Base to (Los Andes Muro), and from there towards PV1. From PV1 to the Cenepa River we have approximately 2 km of pure mud. When you are walking the mud practically covers you all the way to the knee. You can imagine the difficulties of transporting anything from PV1 to the banks of the Cenepa River. But this shows the courage and dedication of our soldiers when defending the fatherland. The temperature is approximately 28 degrees Celsius. This is Carlos Alvarado Chavez for Radio Programas.

Fujimori To Stay Overnight at Border; Overflights Discussed

PY1602023695 Lima Radio Programas del Peru Network in Spanish 0005 GMT 16 Feb 95

[Live telephone relay by correspondent Ismael Byron Horna from the El Milagro military base in Bagua to announcer Alvaro Ugaz in Lima]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Ugaz] Good evening, Ismael.

[Horna] Thirteen soldiers from a Peruvian reconnaissance patrol were found alive and well after they had gotten lost in the battle to recover Tihuinza. President Alberto Fujimori visited the Ciro Alegria, Jimenez Banda, Chavez Valdivia, and Watch Post No. One bases as part of an inspection tour he is carrying out after the recovery of national territory by Peruvian troops. Fujimori decided to spend the night at the Mesones Muro military base, which is located near the district of Imasa, five hours from Bagua Province. Fujimori, who was accompanied by national and foreign reporters, overflew the conflict zone. It is interesting to note that President Fujimori will sleep in a combat military shelter along with the soldiers who are protecting our border. The shelter is known as Hueco de Zorro [fox den] because it is built under a tree and covered by the forest. Alvaro, do you have any questions?

[Ugaz] We learned from Carlos Alvarado Chavez that the presidential airplane is protected by two Air Force planes. Is that true?

[Horna] That is correct. The presidential airplane is protected by two planes from the 8th Air Group, a Mirage and a Sukhoi.

[Ugaz] This worries us, because Ecuadoran military forces reported today that Peru had attempted to overfly Ecuadoran territory. The report says that two Sukhoi airplanes were overflying the Cenepa River region, which according to the Rio de Janeiro Protocol belongs to Peru, but which is not recognized by Ecuador. We hope those two airplanes were not the ones protecting the presidential airplane.

[Horna] In this regard, Air Force planes are providing support to Peruvian troops deployed at the various military posts. The Sukhoi and Mirage airplanes, and various helicopters, are overflying the zone to protect our troops. Several helicopters carrying military materiel, medicine, and troops relieving other units have landed in Bagua and at the El Milagro military base.

[Ugaz] The Ecuadoran report says that the attempted overflight occurred at about 1435 today, creating an emergency situation for the Ecuadoran troops. The report from Quito also says that the cease-fire in the zone, where fighting took place until 13 February, is being enforced. Is this true?

[Horna] That is right. The Peruvian airplanes are overflying our skies in order to safeguard our border. It can also be reported, because it is no longer classified information, that simultaneous explosions are being provoked in Tihuinza by Peruvian troops, who are exploding the mines left by the Ecuadoran forces. The mines in Tihuinza are different from those planted by Ecuadoran forces in the zone of Huaquillas, in the area of Tumbes, which are bigger, with a platform that is activated when one steps on it. The mines planted by the invaders in Tihuinza, however, are the size of evaporated milk cans, and that is why it is easier to explode them simultaneously, even though they are more difficult to see.

[Ugaz] It must be difficult to see those mines in the forest.

[Horna] That is right.

[Ugaz] Thank you, Ismael, for your information.

Fujimori, Journalists Depart for Tihuinza

PY1502151795 Lima America Television Network in Spanish 1344 GMT 15 Feb 95

[Live phone relay by Michael Patzl from Tumbes]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Station announcer Pablo Cateriano] Good morning Michael, how are you?

[Patzl] Very well, good morning Pablo, and good morning to all our viewers.

[Cateriano] You reported yesterday that Peruvian troops and tanks withdrew following the enforcement of the cease-fire. What is the current situation?

[Patzl] Right. Peruvian troops deployed in the northern theater of operations withdrew at about 1600. The demobilization started with the withdrawal of armored troops. Unofficial reports state that about 350 armored units have been demobilized.

[Cateriano] Right now we are watching on our screens the images you sent via microwave, more specifically the tanks and armored units that are leaving Tumbes. People are concerned, however, because the Ecuadoran Army violated the cease-fire even though it was accepted by the Ecuadoran Government. In view of this there is some concern. What is the current situation in Tumbes?

[Patzl] It is true that troops are being demobilized but this does not mean our border has been left unguarded or that all the troops in the area will be demobilized. It is simply an indication of the pacifist vocation of the Peruvian Government and of its desire to uphold the cease-fire. It is a sign that we are willing to resolve this conflict through peaceful means and that we are withdrawing our troops. The border, however, has not been left unprotected. [passage omitted]

[Cateriano] Can you confirm that Tihuinza is right now being bombarded because 37 minutes ago President Fujimori and a group of Peruvian and perhaps some foreign journalists left for Tihuinza?

[Patzl] According to official reports we received yesterday, and also to a communique issued by the joint command, the bombardment continued in Tihuinza. Ecuador was not observing the cease-fire. If President Fujimori has left for Tihuinza today, I suppose it is because conditions allow him to do so.

[Cateriano] Do you have any other reports about the Army deployed in Tumbes? How does the Army see its duties and the entire situation.

[Patzl] Like all residents in Tumbes, Army members fully trust the Peruvian Government's report. They have no doubt that Tihuinza has been recovered and the Ecuadoran troops have been expelled from Peruvian territory. What I can report from Tumbes is that morale is very high here. If you aired the clip on the Marines you probably witnessed the high morale. This morale is obvious throughout all Armed Forces detachments in the region and in the combat area.

[Cateriano] Thank you very much Michael, and we hope to have another relay this evening.

[Patzl] Correct, we will be in touch at 2000.

Fujimori Evaluates Military Situation

PY1602034295 Lima America Television Network in Spanish 0100 GMT 16 Feb 95

[Live telephone interview with President Alberto Fujimori at Watch Post No. One, PV1, near the border with Ecuador, by unidentified television announcer in the studio in Lima]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer] Good evening, Mr. President.

[Fujimori] I am talking from the theater of operations, from Watch Post No. One. We walked a long way through mud and streams. I found here very high morale among the troops. The watch post is called PV1. I believe this post should bear the name of one of our heroes, either a commander of the Army or the Air Force, because it is at this post that one can see the hard work of our Armed Forces.

[Announcer] Mr. President, this morning we reported that you left with a delegation of reporters, and that the objective was to reach Tihuinza. Is that true?

[Fujimori] Well, it is complicated to reach Tihuinza in a single day, because one must first arrive in Cueva de los Tayos, which takes about a six-hour walk. From there to the so-called Base Sur takes another one and one-half hours, more or less, and from there to Tihuinza it probably takes from 10 to 12 hours.

[Announcer] Will you go to Tihuinza tomorrow?

[Fujimori] No, we are returning to Lima. We expect more security before going to Tihuinza, because there were some risks even getting to the Peruvian Watch Post No. One, as there could be snipers with missiles who are not yet aware of the cease-fire. But the cease-fire is being fulfilled in global terms. The trip to Tihuinza will have to be made only after there is maximum security and appropriate procedures are agreed upon between the two countries. The trip to Tihuinza could be done, however, this weekend, in a couple of days, to verify, as reported by the commanders based on the latitude and longitude, that the Peruvian troops are indeed in complete control of Tihuinza, Base Sur, and Cueva de los Tayos. There are reporters who entered Cueva de los Tayos, because it is a real cave where they also went swimming.

[Announcer] Mr. President, this morning we showed on our newscast the first images shown by Ecuadoran television of what they say is Tihuinza. Let me say that Tihuinza is basically an unpopulated zone, a zone where the trees were cut. We were able to see a hut, an Ecuadoran flag, and a group of soldiers. The Ecuadoreans again—this afternoon—took a group of reporters, including Peruvian reporters. They called on the Peruvian Government to show Tihuinza. They say we are not showing Tihuinza, but that they are showing it, that they were always there, that they never retreated. What can you say?

[Fujimori] Well, I would say this is a second, false Tihuinza. The first one is in Ecuador, the second one is really the one they occupied. Well, this is the third, that they are showing. This is why the coordinates for the site of the battle are so important. There is absolutely no doubt whatsoever about the place our troops are occupying. This is why the Ecuadoran artillery bombed this place, because it was already occupied by Peruvian forces. I understand perfectly well that Ecuador has to carry out this misinformation campaign for its public, because it is hard to accept what has happened, that Peruvian troops have evicted the Ecuadoran troops.

[Announcer] Mr. President, can you inform the Peruvian public what Tihuinza consists of? What did the Peruvian Army find after recovering this post? What is there? Are there underground galleries, heavy artillery, an airport, a landing strip?

[Fujimori] In the rear area there is a heliport built at the last minute for refueling purposes, from which additional troops were shipped. The truth is that it was a small trench heavily guarded with bombs and mine fields, in a forested, muddy area where there are several hills. Precisely when I addressed my last message to the nation, we had already recovered the highest hill, that is, the most strategic position. Tihuinza is definitely under our control. Whatever the Ecuadoran party may say is a mere attempt to minimize the truth of what happened here these past days.

[Announcer] Mr. President, yesterday the Armed Forces Joint Command issued a communique stating that the bombings had continued. Today Tihuinza, Cueva de los Tayos, and even where you are, PV1, have been bombed by Ecuador.

[Fujimori] During the time I have been here—I am in PV1—we have not received a single bomb. The helicopters in which we travelled had to fly almost at the level of the tree tops along the course of the Cenepa River to avoid possible missiles and artillery fire. But fortunately this did not happen. The cease-fire is being observed by the two parties. Ecuador started observing it at 1600 [2100 GMT] yesterday. Up to 1545 [2045 GMT] there was fierce artillery crossfire from Coangos, Banderas, and Condor Mirador against Tihuinza. But after that the firing stopped, and today we have not heard any bombs here.

[Announcer] Mr. President, one last question. Have you, in the theater of operations, been in contact with our diplomatic corps? What do you know about the presence of the guarantors in the zone where you are now?

[Fujimori] I received it at dawn today, when everything was set for us to leave for this zone to see that the cease-fire had been implemented, to voice our support for our troops, and to greet and congratulate those who have fought directly, and I have brought a copy of this document. I was in contact a few minutes ago with the foreign minister, and there very small observations to be made to this document because, for example, it talks about (Tiucuza), that is, [words indistinct] observers, but it does not mention the geographic coordinates, and the geographic coordinates are important to determine that this is the true Tihuinza.

[Announcer] Thank you very much, Mr. President, for this telephone interview.

[Fujimori] Thank you. It was a pleasure to speak to you. Good night to everyone, and I want to reiterate that everything is fully under our Armed Forces' control and we enjoy the confidence and safety they grant us. Good night to everyone.

[Announcer] Thank you. Good night. That was President Fujimori, speaking from the site where the clashes with Ecuador took place.

Constituent President Seeks Retraction of 'Offensive Words'

PY1602135195 Lima America Television Network in Spanish 1145 GMT 12 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Democratic Constituent Congress, CCD, President Jaime Yoshiyama has charged the Ecuadoran Government with creating obstacles to a solution of the border conflict. He urged his Ecuadoran counterpart Hans Muller to publicly retract his offensive words about President Alberto Fujimori.

Peruvian and foreign journalists participated in Yoshiyama's news conference, the objective of which was to report on the Peruvian legislative branch position in face of the recent events at the northern border. CCD President Yoshiyama pointed out that the recovery of the Tihuinza post in Peruvian territory has been confirmed. He added that all Ecuadoran organized troops have been expelled from the national territory. Yoshiyama used a map to show that. He said Ecuadoran officials would be failing to tell the truth if they contradict. He said not one inch of Peruvian territory should be given up and insisted on a demilitarization of the border region. He said that the cease-fire must continue being respected until a definitive demarcation is made.

[Begin Yoshiyama recording] We want to clearly assert, before the international community and the guarantor countries, that the cease-fire must continue being respected in order to enable us to pursue demarcation.

What will happen if Ecuador continues to bomb Peru? We will evidently have to resort to UN Article 51 because we will have to defend ourselves. This has been the attitude of Peru throughout the conflict. [end recording]

Yoshiyama also reported on the establishment of 12 congressional committees that will visit several foreign countries to inform their congresses about Peruvian full respect for the terms of the Rio de Janeiro Protocol.

[Begin Yoshiyama recording, in progress] ...in our area, specifically Congress, and to grant as many news conferences as needed to fully inform the congressmen of the visited countries about the Peruvian position. [end recording]

Yoshiyama urged the president of the Ecuadoran Congress to retract his offensive comments about President Fujimori.

[Begin Yoshiyama recording] Through the press, I would like to ask the president of the Ecuadoran Congress to publicly retract his offensive words against the president of the Peruvian Republic, as a gentleman would do, because President Fujimori represents all 23 million Peruvians. [end recording]

Concluding his news conference, Yoshiyama answered the question of a journalist of Ecuadoran television. Yoshiyama called the recent recovery of Peruvian territory, which had been occupied by the invaders, a military victory.

[Begin Yoshiyama recording] We convinced Ecuador to sit at a negotiating table with us in Brazil and to discuss the issue within the framework of the Rio de Janeiro Protocol. Thus, we believe we have been victorious in this regard. From the military point of view, we have entirely expelled the Ecuadoran organized troops. In our opinion, this is a military victory. [end recording]

EXPRESO Praises Perez de Cuellar's Role

95SM0191H (Internet) DESCO Gopher in Spanish 10 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] EXPRESO comments: "Javier Perez de Cuellar is at the present moment a very valuable weapon for Peru. His message to the nation on Tuesday 31 January should suffice to convince world public opinion that it was indeed the Ecuadorans who invaded Peruvian territory, and that the sentiment in Peru is unanimous that they must be expelled. This strengthens Peru's international position, inasmuch as attacks on the government for not insisting that the nation's sovereignty be respected send a clear signal to the world community concerning what Peru's Tyrians and Trojans are thinking about Peru's right to that territory. The positive thing is that all this is taking place without any coordination and in the midst of an election campaign. For the same reason, it would be important to demonstrate this unity to the citizens of the guarantor nations of the Rio Protocol. The government will invite certain leading citizens to take part in special missions, but other initiatives could be organized independently. For example, a trip by the major candidates—acting on their own initiative and involving a minimum of coordination with the Foreign Ministry—would be an even more valuable contribution to the defense of our nation's position." (EXPRESO, 10 February 1995)

Economy Minister: Conflict 'Has Not Affected' Economic Program

PY1602114695 Lima Global de Television Network in Spanish 0130 GMT 16 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] During a news conference, Economy and Finance Minister Jorge Camet Dickman today emphasized that the conflict with Ecuador has not effected our country's economy. He flatly denied the possibility of changing the economic program. The minister reported that our Armed Forces have received $10 million from the executive branch

Like all Peruvians, Economy and Finance Minister Jorge Camet Dickman deplored the border conflict with Ecuador. Hinting at the cease-fire, he emphasized that the conflict did not effect our country because it did not last long.

Many questions involved the money spent during the conflict. The economy and finance minister said there are no figures available.

[Begin Camet Dickman recording] I cannot give you the cost, the figures, but, as I have just said, fuel expenditures are involved. The cost involves millions of dollars that must be restored. It involves food rations carried inside backpacks.

There are also some items like planes that the two sides have lost. The joint command will decide if they will be replaced, if they are indispensable. We have in no way spent 400 million [no currency specified]. This figure is utterly unrealistic.

We will not vary our economic program over a border conflict. We will continue our economic program. We even plan to enhance it. [end recording]

Concerning strictly economic issues, Camet Dickman emphasized that we will restore our national economy in 1996. Given our GDP growth, we will reverse the situation inherited from the past administration, he noted.

He reported that meetings with commercial banks to restructure our debt would be resumed in early March. He added that our Paris Club debt would be restructured in April 1996, incorporating the pardon concept.

Two Peruvians Charged as Spies in Ecuador

PY1502141695 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1256 GMT 15 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Lima, 15 Feb (EFE)—A Foreign Ministry communique issued today states that 59 Peruvians have been detained in Ecuador since the start of the border conflict on 26 January. Two of them have been charged with espionage. The communique adds that another 118 Peruvians who were detained have been released.

The Foreign Ministry states that a lawyer has been hired to defend Peruvians Andres Rafael Sanchez Ortiz and Estanislao Farro Suarez "who have been falsely charged with espionage."

The communique reports on the "constant harassment" of Peruvians residing in the Ecuadoran towns of Lago Agrio, Otavalo, and Ibarra.

It states that the detainees are being constantly transferred from one province to the other. It adds that Peruvians who contact their consulate offices "are the target of humiliating police intervention or the taping of their phones."

The communique also states that 10 Peruvians clergymen from the diocese of Loja were "subjected to harassment by Ecuadoran military personnel" and that in view of this, they were forced to seek refuge in Colombia.

The communique adds that Peruvians living in Guayaquil receive periodic visits by agents from the Ecuadoran immigration and intelligence services to check their papers.

The communique states that in Machala, Peruvians are "sought in their homes by Ecuadoran military intelligence members. A large number of the detainees have been harassed and tortured. They are forced to testify that they are spies and to sign blank papers."

The Peruvian Foreign Ministry communique adds that the telephone in its consulate offices in Machala has been cut off.

Since the start of the conflict with Ecuador, 505 Peruvians have returned to their country.

General Announces Withdrawal, Compliance With Cease-Fire

PY1602024795 Lima America Television Network in Spanish 0100 GMT 16 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In strict compliance with the cease-fire, armored vehicles and heavy war materiel that had been sent to the northern border have begun withdrawing to their bases. This information was disclosed by General Cesar Ramal Pesantes, chief of the First Military Region. This is what he said:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] During a news conference the chief of the First Military Region and general commander of northern operations, General Cesar Ramal Pesantes, announced the withdrawal of armored vehicles and heavy war materiel from the border with Ecuador to comply with the order of a cease-fire. To confirm this, Gen. Ramal invited reporters to go to the area surrounding the headquarters of the First Military Region, where they could see Army personnel carriers coming from Huaraz bound for Tumbes, but which are returning to their bases following the order of a cease-fire. Gen. Ramal said that if provocations by the Ecuadoran Armed Forces were to continue, Peruvian troops would be sent back to the border.

[Ramal] Peru is at every moment showing that we are a peaceful nation, that we do not want war, but we are in a state of preparedness in case it is necessary for us to engage in a war. In strict compliance with the order of a cease-fire given by the president of the Republic and commander in chief of the Armed Forces, and to facilitate a detente in order to continue negotiations in the diplomatic sphere on the enforcement of the Protocol, we are withdrawing our forces. [end recording]

Press Reactions to Ecuadoran Claims Reviewed

PY1602143595 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1301 GMT 16 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Lima, 16 Feb (EFE)—Today the Peruvian press called Ecuadoran President Sixto Duran-Ballen a "fake" and underscored that the Tihuinza enclave which the Ecuadorans showed to journalists inside Ecuadoran territory "is just a shack in the middle of the Amazon jungle. The Ecuadoran flag that was flying over it was taken there in the same helicopter that carried the journalists."

An item in the opposition daily LA REPUBLICA entitled "Ecuador Revealed," states: "Everything was a fraud. Ecuador invented a fake Tihuinza, a fake Base Sur, and a fake Cueva de los Tayos," the three positions where Ecuadorans were ousted from Peruvian territory.

The popular newspaper ONDA carries the headline "Duran-Ballen is a Fake and He Keeps Deceiving the Ecuadoran People." EL COMERCIO, the oldest Peruvian newspaper states: "Peru proposes a definitive cease-fire."

The tabloid EXPRESO reports: "Ecuador shows journalists a fake Tihuinza," and "Peruvians are tortured in Ecuador." Meanwhile the economic newspaper GESTION indicates that Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori "will evaluate today the proposal of the guarantor countries." The newspaper EL MUNDO carries the following headline: "Peru Wants To See Tihuinza."

The EXPRESO editorial states: "In Ecuador, defining the border has become essential in reestablishing the Armed Forces' subordination to the constitutional government, shoring up democracy and implementing an economic reform. That is the carrot, but there should also be a stick. The risk of punishment by the international community must be there to make sure Ecuadoran's lack of political will does not prevent a definitive solution."

EL COMERCIO urges Ecuador to clear its mines from urban areas.

Uruguay

President-Elect Announces Cabinet Members

PY1602153095 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0049 GMT 16 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Montevideo, 15 Feb (EFE)—Uruguayan President-elect Julio Maria Sanguinetti has defined his future cabinet, naming representatives from opposition parties in five of the 12 ministries as part of the national unity agreement.

The new political setting which surfaced after the 27 November elections—with the Colorado Party, the future ruling-party; the National or "Blanco" Party, the current ruling party and future leading opposition party; and the left coalition "Broad Front" sharing nearly one-third of the people's preferences—forced the president-elect to hold a broad round of negotiations in the quest for agreements and commitments to pursue his government plans.

Sanguinetti saved for his Colorado Party the Economy and Finance Ministry, appointing Luis Mosca; the Interior Ministry, appointing Didier Operti; the Public Health Ministry, appointing Alfredo Solari; the Tourism Ministry, appointing Benito Stern; the Transportation and Public Works Ministry, appointing Lucio Caceres; and the Livestock, Agriculture and Fishing Ministry, appointing Carlos Gasparri.

Samuel Lichtensztejn, a former Universidad de la Republica dean and a member of the Party for Government by the People (PGP), which entered an electoral agreement with the Colorado Party in the past elections—will be the education and culture minister.

Foreign Relations Minister-designate Alvaro Ramos; Defense Minister-designate Raul Iturria; Housing, Territorial Organization, and Environment Minister-designate Juan Chiruchi; and Labor and Social Security Minister-designate Analia Pineyra are all National Party members.

Federico Slinger, a member of the tiny Civic Union, was designated industry minister. Slinger was Bank of Uruguay (BROU) director during Sanguinetti's past administration (1985-90).

The agreement achieved by the president-elect with National Party leaders, including President Luis Alberto Lacalle, who initially was reluctant to share future government responsibilities, guaranteed a majority in Congress for Sanguinetti. Without this agreement, he would in no way have achieved this majority. Sanguinetti will be inaugurated on 1 March.

Montevideo Mayor Discusses Socialism, Cuba

PY1602123695 Montevideo BUSQUEDA in Spanish 9 Feb 95 p 10

[Interview with Montevideo Mayor-elect Mariano Arana, who assumes office on 15 February, by unidentified BUSQUEDA reporter; place and date not given]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [BUSQUEDA] Are you a socialist?

[Arana] I have never considered myself a socialist although I continue to sympathize with the ideas implied in a definition of socialism as far as solidarity and social equality are concerned. It is much easier for me to identify myself as a person influenced by Christian thought, with which I have been in contact since I was a little child through the Methodist and Evangelical churches.

[BUSQUEDA] Besides the values of "solidarity" and "social equality" you mention in the socialist system, what is your opinion of the classical socialist ideology which defends the one-party system, a centralized economy?

[Arana] I have never believed in that and I have never supported it. I was imbued by ideas prevalent in university circles in the 1950's, which considered plurality of opinions, confrontation of ideas, and diversity of criteria as one of the basic sources of any deeply democratic manifestation that respects individuals.

[BUSQUEDA] One can then say that Arana is not a socialist ...

[Arana] ... I will never say that. It is one thing to say Arana does not define himself as a socialist and something quite different to say that I am not a socialist. It does not go with my personality, it is like an architect saying he never adhered to a specific school like functionalist or organic architecture. I feel I am on the same wavelength as many people and organizations which in different ways consider themselves as socialists and devote themselves totally to community service through political, creative, literary, and journalistic means. I must say, of course, that I am not an anti-socialist, either.

[BUSQUEDA] A person may be a socialist, may not be a socialist, or may be an "anti-socialist." What are you?

[Arana] If you want to place me in one of those categories, I would choose the multiplicity of intermediate degrees.

[BUSQUEDA] What are your views on Marxist ideology?

[Arana] I hold it in the greatest respect. Like many other ideologies that spawned throughout the history of universal thought, it constitutes a very bold approach to a comprehensive knowledge of a specific reality.

[BUSQUEDA] What is your opinion of "class struggle"?

[Arana] Just that it has existed and in a way continues to exist in today's world. I think one should not make value judgments of whether it is good or bad.

[BUSQUEDA] Are you a Marxist?

[Arana] No. I would not venture to say I am anti-Marxist. To adopt such a position one has to have a philosophical conviction which must be underpinned by a degree of knowledge that I do not think I have. I can say for sure that I have never identified myself as, and even less called myself, a Marxist. I recall now the answer Lula [Ignacio Lula da Silva, a 1994 candidate for the Brazilian presidency] gave when asked if he was a Marxist-Leninist: "I am a lathe operator," he replied.

[BUSQUEDA] What do you think of what has happened in Eastern Europe over the last few years?

[Arana] For those of us who never shared the philosophies prevalent there, we perceived those events as a consequence of the lack of an effective democratic participation.

[BUSQUEDA] There is a faction within the Broad Front that believes what went wrong in Eastern Europe was not the ideas but rather the people. What do you think of that?

[Arana] I find it hard to believe that they were only human mistakes. I would say that from the moment these ideologies propounded the inclusion of ways of organization that did not respect pluralism and participation, as was the case there, there was a certain degree of vulnerability in those ideological assumptions. I think such a major change resulted from excessively rigid and orthodox ideas, which forced a change in the situation and a reformulation of the left's role, as I think is happening.

[BUSQUEDA] What do you think of Fidel Castro?

[Arana] It is very difficult to talk about "the" island, as if it were a single Cuba; the one that emerged in 1958 and continues, and of a personality that will go down in the history of Latin America as an unavoidable landmark with undoubtedly controversial characteristics. I have very little doubt about his vocation to defend, rightly or wrongly, what he deemed the interests of his homeland.

[BUSQUEDA] Does the pluralism of ideas and expression that you defend exist in Cuba?

[Arana] I have no doubt whatsoever that it does not exist in the degree that I have defended and will continue to do so in my own country.

[BUSQUEDA] Do you consider the Cuban regime a dictatorship?

[Arana] The Cuban regime cannot be labelled a dictatorship because it has a valid institutionalism by means of some specific processes, of which I do not approve. It is certainly not what we consider a democratic regime.

[BUSQUEDA] And yet, the Chilean regime under Augusto Pinochet was also said to be a different regime, while the left contended it was a dictatorship until elections were held and a democratic government took office. Is this not similar to what happens in Cuba?

[Arana] Pinochet never had to defend Chilean sovereignty. The total absence of any questioning of the oppressor's thought, and the magnitude and intensity of the persecution, torture, deprivation of freedom, and loss of life that took place under the Chilean dictatorial regime can never be compared with Cuban reality. I would say that Cuba is going through a process, perhaps a bit too long, which has obvious contradictions. Nevertheless, it is trying to effect change, which we consider encouraging, regarding a possible popular participation. I would not define the Cuban regime in terms of democracy or dictatorship. I see it as a reality trying to consolidate democratic aspirations. [passage omitted]

Editorial Rues 'Unforgivable' Ecuadoran-Peruvian Conflict

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[Editorial: "Once Again at War: An Unforgivable Conflict"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Facts have once again contradicted words. The undeclared—albeit bloody—war between Peru and Ecuador shows that the traditional rhetoric about Latin American brotherhood, the formality of regional organizations like the OAS, and the apparent hemispheric desire to settle disputes through conciliatory negotiations are sometimes useless, artificial, and late. It seems rather grotesque (and extremely painful) that at the close of the 20th century Hispano-American forces should be killing each other for a tract of land, the demarcation of which was allegedly not well defined in the Rio de Janeiro Protocol signed 54 years ago. The vagueness of the terms of the treaty, the appalling fact that Ecuador should have lost nearly 200,000 square kilometers of territory to Peru as a result of this arbitration, and the smallness of the area currently under dispute merited deliberation: a meeting, whether direct or indirect, between the feuding parties, or consultations with the parties that participated in that Rio de Janeiro Protocol before hostilities broke out.

Oddly enough, this border conflict strikes one as something from a past that already seemed remote and totally overcome. Its sudden virulence, sterility, and useless blood-letting is better suited to the times of the War of the Pacific [1879-1884] or the Chaco War [1932-1935], which only served to bleed neighboring countries and to help one of the combatants conquer a part of the territory of the vanquished (as was the case with Chile with regard to Peru and Bolivia, and then with Paraguay, which gained possession of part of Bolivian territory). These regional wars invariably resulted in a loss of life, the poisoning of peaceful coexistence, and the weakening of the region. They only brought discredit to Latin America in the eyes of world powers, and turned it into a divided area, which in a way favored the influence these world powers had on it.

Facts on one side and words on the other. We Hispano-Americans have been hearing for 150 years about Bolivarian aspirations, about the need to establish a confederation, about the benefits of hemispheric integration for all these countries, which are isolated by common borders and sometimes at odds with each other. And yet, over this century and a half, reality has opposed the words and letters of bombastic documents, wounding the region with wars that have only fueled the hegemonic pretensions of slightly better armed countries over weaker and more unwary neighbors. These pretensions have had moderate dimensions, as befits a continent subordinate to international interests that are alien to it, and in all cases have resulted in the snapping up of some kilometers of territory, or the snatching of some province from a rival neighbor.

The result of these armed conflicts is neither justice nor military glory, nor the victorious country's fame; it is neither regional balance nor harmony in the region. Friction continues, and the bitter memories of war poison relations between nations that share the same language, culture, and history. In any case, what is left in the balance is the satisfaction of extreme nationalism, which neither sound judgment nor the knowledge of a common past, nor respect for one's neighbors, nor even the sharing of the same foreign policy goals, have managed to quell. Sadly, there might also be devious political interests in this conflict between Ecuador and Peru, namely to increase the popularity of a candidate who is running for office with a possible victory on the battleground.

Nevertheless, the situation is deplorable, partly because it demonstrates that Latin America has not overcome an embryonic, unstable, and fairly wild historical period in which minor disagreements like the current one are still resolved through aggression and bloodshed. With a broad view, this episode is also very short-sighted and very clumsy, because instead of supporting and strengthening this subcontinent's influence in the international assembly of nations, it impoverishes it and reduces it. This episode allows countries in remote areas to keep viewing this area as an underdeveloped setting in which the customary levels of misery, the backwardness of rural areas, the occasional political destabilization, and the huge debts are joined by this state of latent violence that broke out into an unforgivable border conflict.

We need not complain, then, when from the metropolis Hispano-America is described as a nearly peripheral world that is not always trustworthy, and whose outbreaks of armed fierceness resemble similar uproars troubling have-not social groups. In a way, time, the burden of heartbreaking experiences, and the memory of past setbacks are useless for this region, where two armies, with native features appearing under their helmets, have again engaged in a battle that revives depressing periods, takes the toll of lives senselessly sacrificed, disheartens, and ruins everyone's hopes. In addition to the deep sorrow for those who are dying, and the anger against those who are unable (or don't want) to overcome the problem by sitting at a negotiating table, this episode is fairly distressing and shameful for any Latin American viewing it.

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